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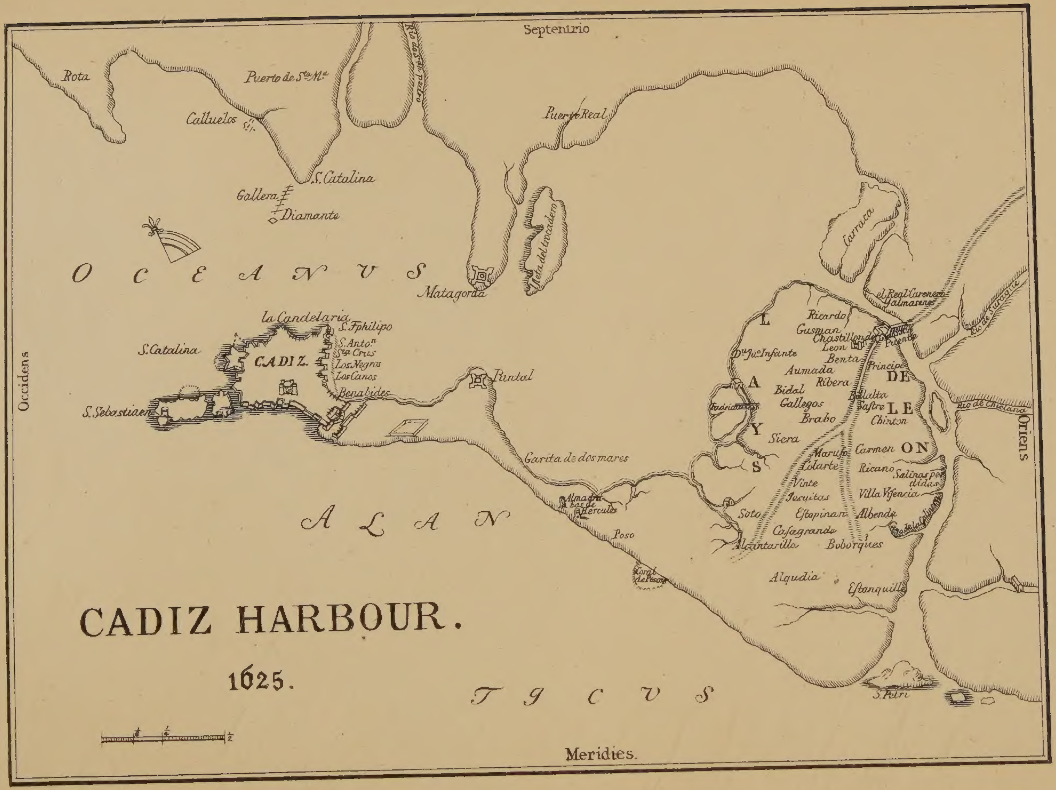
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1625.

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

GENERAL SIR EDWARD CECIL,

VISCOUNT WIMBLEDON,

COLONEL OF AN ENGLISH REGIMENT IN THE DUTCH SERVICE, 1605–1631,

AND

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, 1628–1638.

BY

CHARLES DALTON, F.R.G.S.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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LIFE AND TIMES

OF

SIR EDWARD CECIL,

VISCOUNT WIMBLEDON.

CHAPTER I.

1622–1623.

State of the British regiments in Holland—Spinola's triumphs—He lays siege to Bergen-op-zoom—The Prince of Orange sends troops there—Arrival of General Cecil at Bergen—He joins the States' army near Emerich—And takes part in the attack on Bois-le-duc—The operations of Count Mansfeld in Alsace—Is joined by the ex-King of Bohemia—Their short campaign in the Palatinate—Disastrous results—Christian of Brunswick is routed by Tilly—Defection of the Duke of Baden—Frederick and Mansfeld retreat to Alsace—Frederick leaves the army and retires to Sedan—Mansfeld's services engaged by the States-General—He marches with his troops into the Netherlands—Overtaken by the enemy near Brussels—Mutiny—Battle of Fleurus—Gallantry of Christian of Brunswick—Mansfeld joins the Prince of Orange—Their united forces march to the relief of Bergen—Journal of the siege of Bergen-op-zoom—Spinola raises the siege—The English in the Palatinate—Return of Sir Horace Vere—Death of the Earl of Exeter—The Spanish Marriage Treaty—Marriage of Albinia Cecil—Letter from Wimbledon.

THE ranks of the British regiments in the States' service had been sadly thinned by Death's remorseless hand during the four months of weary waiting and watching for an enemy who never came, when the Dutch army had last taken the field. The two regiments which had suffered most appear to have been Sir Edward Cecil's and Lord

L'Isle's[1] regiments of foot. The natural pride of a commander, in the strength and good appearance of his own regiment, made Sir Edward Cecil anxious that his regiment should be raised to its usual strength before again appearing in the field. When the winter passed away, and the spring drew near its end, without the necessary orders having been issued for the recruiting of "the regiment of Cecil," the angry feelings of the colonel of this regiment blazed out, and he expressed himself in very plain language to his friend Sir Dudley Carleton, who, with his customary kindness and helpfulness, had, it would seem, spoken to the Prince of Orange and the States-General regarding the need of new levies for Cecil's regiment.

> "Instead of recompensing us that have so long and faithfully served them," wrote Cecil to the British Ambassador at the Hague, "the recompense is with interest to paye for these souldiers,[2] when they take besydes all advantages and extremity in there necessity, as they did the last leaguer, when we had endured all misery both by sickness and death for their service. . . . Therefore I shall not be over this yeare so soone as I have beeyne others; but I will rather take the advantage of it, [at] my coming over at the time his Exc. doth send out his patentes. Now I have given order that a man of war be procured to feach [fetch] me over. I commend my lo. lile [L'Isle] that he can so soone see into his masters unconscionable usage of there [their] servants." [3]

Lord L'Isle seems to have been equally disgusted with the Dutch mode of recompensing their brave defenders, and he determined to leave a service[1] where there was little military glory to be obtained at that time, but much hardship and sickness to be encountered.

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[1] On the surrender of the cautionary towns to the Dutch, in 1616, an English regiment was given to Lord L'Isle (then Sir Robert Sidney) as a recompense for his father's services as governor of Flushing.

[2] This phrase is ambiguous. Cecil may mean that he is expected to defray the cost of raising recruits?

[3] Cecil to Carleton, from "Cecyll House [Strand] this 4 of Maye" [1622]. —*S. P. Holland.*

About June 1, half of the foot regiments in the States' service were sent to their last year's quarters at Emerich, under the command of Henry of Nassau, and the remainder of the troops were to follow, under the Prince of Orange's command, as soon as news came of Spinola's taking the field.[2]

Spinola was one of those able commanders who formed his plans without taking any one into his counsel, and, having decided what to do, kept his intentions secret. This wise reticence on his part accounted for much of the success his arms met with, as his enemies were continually taken by surprise. In 1622 Spinola may be said to have nearly reached the zenith of his military fame. He had overrun and conquered most of the Palatinate, and had so effectually terrified some of the princes of the German Union, who were, as Maurice of Nassau wittily said, rich enough to make a feast, but too poor to make a war,[3] that they had come to terms with the emperor. Spinola's lieutenants, Van den Berg and Cordova, had also been successful in their enterprises, and Van den Berg had inflicted a serious blow upon the United Provinces when he forced the aged governor of Juliers to surrender that fortress early in this year.[4]

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[1] Lord L'Isle to Carleton, May 8, 1622, acquainting him that in consequence of being straitened in his circumstances he thinks of making over his regiment to Sir Charles Rich.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] Carleton to Nethersole, June 3, 1622.—*S. P. Holland.*

[3] Crosse, p. 1449.

[4] Sergeant-Major Pithan surrendered Juliers to the Spaniards when the garrison was reduced to a state of starvation, having only dogs, cats, and vermin to eat. It is said that Pithan told Count Van den Berg how long and faithfully he had held the city for his Lords, the States, when he delivered up the keys. Van den Berg said it was well, "but yet," said he, "these are

Having obtained possession of this long-coveted frontier stronghold, Spinola determined to carry the war into the enemy's country and lay siege to Bergen-op-zoom, which would open a passage for him into Zeeland. In order to throw the enemy off the scent, the Spanish commander marched to Wesel, and, without sitting down before any town, marched to and fro along the frontier, keeping Rees, Emerich, Grave, &c., in constant expectation of attack. The Prince of Orange assembled an army of 19,000 men in the neighbourhood of Rees to guard the threatened Dutch frontier. This large force drained several of the important Dutch towns of part of their wonted garrisons. One of the towns which furnished some companies to the States' army was Bergen-op-zoom. Spinola being cognisant of this fact took immediate advantage of it. He made a sudden descent towards Brabant and sent a detachment forward under Louis de Velasco, who besieged and captured Steenbergen without meeting with much opposition.[1]

The Prince of Orange, knowing the weak state Bergen-op-zoom was in, both as regarded defenders and defences (some of the outworks being in a half-finished state), immediately sent some picked troops there, who arrived about July 18, three days after the Spanish detachment appeared before the town.

"General Cecil coming out of England," wrote the historian of these early Dutch wars, "with an intention to go towards his Excellencie's camp by Emricke (where he had a great command, as being Colonel of a Regiment of English foot and Captaine of a

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not all the keys." "What mean you," said Pithan, "by this?" "I mean," replied the count, with a Spanish elation, "the keys of Amsterdam, Utrecht, Delft, &c., &c., which the States of the United Provinces do so long detain from the Lord my master."—*Crosse*, p. 1419.

[1] Crosse, p. 1421.

horse troupe), tooke Berghen in his way, as well to see the seige as that he might be able to informe the Prince concerning the particularities of it. He was accompanied with divers great personages, as with my Lord Mountjoy,[1] the eldest son of the Lord President of the Council (now honoured with the title of Viscount Mandeville), Master John Meynard,[2] brother to my Lord Meynard, Master Wray,[3] and others. After some few days they departed towards his Excellencie's camp, where they arrived in safety."[4]

Before detailing what Cecil saw and did at Bergen-op-zoom during his short stay there, we must follow him to the States' camp near Emerich, and relate in Cecil's own words what happened after his arrival.

SIR E. CECIL TO THE EARL OF MIDDLESEX.[5]

"... We hear the Spanish army hath left the Palatinate to come down upon us, although Austria having left that Countrye as the

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[1] Edward Montagu, second Earl of Manchester, was eldest son of Sir Henry Montagu, Lord Treasurer (created Viscount Mandeville in 1620, and Earl of Manchester in 1626). Edward Montagu was a successful Parliamentary general during the civil wars, and particularly distinguished by his victory over Prince Rupert at Marston Moor, in which engagement Cromwell acted as his lieutenant-general. He died 1671.

[2] Sir John Maynard, of Tooting, Surrey, K.B., and M.P. for Lostwithiel in 1640. Impeached of high treason, expelled the House of Commons, and sent to the Tower in 1647 for the part he took in voting for the disbanding of the Parliamentary army. He died 1658.

[3] This was doubtless Mr. (afterwards Sir Christopher) Wray, of whom more hereafter.

[4] Crosse, p. 1427.

[5] Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, who from a low beginning was for his eminent qualities in mercantile affairs raised to that title, and to the post of Lord Treasurer of England, was son of Thomas Cranfield, Esq. He had been bred up in the Custom House, and was looked upon as a fit instrument to detect the frauds in those officers. Having married a kinswoman of the Duke of Buckingham, he was introduced to the Court of James I. by the reigning favourite, and rose rapidly from one high post to another. Created Baron Cranfield in June, 1621, and appointed Lord Treasurer in the October following, he reached the zenith of his fame in 1622, when he was created Earl of Middlesex. In two short years Lord Middlesex was impeached by Parliament and deprived of all his offices. The Earl, who died in 1645, was

Croes do the Carkase of dead beastes that hath noe more fleash leafte. Wee have been upon a surprise of great importance which was the town of Burslo (*sic*) [Bois-le-duc], a place if the States had gotten it would have helped them to have kept 5,000 men more in the army then they did, and have made us all rich; but wee have returned weary, without sleep, without bread, I [aye] and without good water, having worked 24 hours together."[1]

Cecil proceeds to relate in his letter to Lord Middlesex how their camp near Emerich was suddenly attacked one night by the Spanish troops, and several of the States' officers taken prisoners and carried off before the whole camp was aroused.

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twice married. By his second wife, Anne Brett (niece of the old Countess of Buckingham), he left four sons and a daughter Frances (married to Richard, Earl of Dorset), who eventually succeeded to the Cranfield estates which devolved on her son.

[1] The important town of Bois-le-duc did not fall into the hands of the States' forces until 1629. Sir Dudley Carleton refers to the above attempt to surprise this town in one of his letters:

"You will have heard of an enterprise the Prince of Orange failed of lately uppon Bolduc, which he had projected so well, that he never shewed more confidence in any. He was coming from his campe in Cleveland with 5,000 foote and 3 troopes of horse, within a league of the town, where he attended [waited], giveing order for the execution till the darkness of the night came on, and then sett forward under the conduct of guides that lead him all night out of the way, which defaced all theyr fair hopes of successe, the morning coming on, and they discovered, and he is since returned to his old quarter by Skènckesconce. . . The designe was to have Petarded one of the gates, and to have attempted entrance thereby, as likewise by another place where the wall was fallen downe, and the ditch drawn dry during the reparation thereof." Carleton to ——, Aug. 15, 1622.—*S. P. Holland.* Sir Edward Cecil commanded the British tooops on the march to Bois-le-duc, the second in command being Sir Edward Vere, who commanded Sir Horace Vere's regiment during that general's absence in the Palatinate. A dispute arose between Cecil and Sir Edward Vere on the march as to the extent of Cecil's command. The dispute ended in a challenge. A meeting was arranged, and at the first halt Cecil and Vere left the camp attended by their seconds, Sir W. St. Leger and Captain Lindley. Before the duel took place the combatants were arrested by a party sent from camp by the Prince of Orange. Carleton to Calvert, August 12.—*S. P. Holland.*

"Amongst the prisoners," continues Cecil, "was a Duke of Saxson,[1] one of the bravest Duche [Dutch] I have known, the other Sir W. Balforde [Balfour], a Scoche man, whoe is returned upon his ransome; the other I think is too great a man and too courtly to return to us again, altho' there can not be demanded more than £110, which is the ransome of a Captaine of Horse agreed upon between both our armies.[2] . . . When I was at Bergen it grieved me to see English colours carried against English colours, and that his Majesty should lose his subjects' blood both ways.[3] But I hope God will defend it some way as he hath begun, for there doth come unto us every day fifty at least crying out that if all could come they would do so, so we hope to have soldiers good [and] cheap. . . . Count Mansfieldt . . . . the States have agreed to his demand (£3,000 a month) so long as he shall spoil their enemies country, and when he will join with us then to have his Army paid upon the Dutch foote; we look for him daily, and if he come he shall be needfully welcome."[4]

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[1] The Duke of Saxe-Weimar, whose estates in Germany were confiscated by the Emperor Ferdinand. Sir Dudley Carleton thus speaks of this nobleman on a subsequent occasion:

"Here is a noble gent, the Duke of Saxe Weymar, eldest of that house, who is much solicited by his frends to returne to his home and submit himself to the Emperor, whereby to save the loss of his estate, about which he hath often consulted with me; and because he is the man for action on whom most assurance may be built of that nation, especially for command and service of horse, I have advised him to entertane some time without giving answer." Carleton to Secretary Conway, March 8, 1623-4.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] For an account of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar's ransom, see further on in this chapter.

[3] James had been weak enough to give leave to Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador in London, to raise two regiments for the Spanish service, one in Scotland and the other in England, in the spring of 1622, when he (the king) had been lulled into a belief that the Palatinate was about to be restored to Frederick through Spanish intervention. The two regiments were quickly raised, and Lord Vaux was appointed colonel-in-chief, but the recruits, who were chiefly, if not entirely, Roman Catholics, appear to have been deceived in several important matters regarding their future services. When Lord Vaux's companies arrived in the Low Countries, and found they had to serve against the Hollanders and their own countrymen, many of the men refused to fight and ran away.—*Court and Times*, i. pp. 306-7.

[4] From the *Knole MSS.*, dated "Skinke Sconce, 13 Aug.," and printed in the *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.* p. 287.

When we last heard of Ernest, Count of Mansfeld, he was at the head of a large army in the Lower Palatinate; but after a few successes, followed by heavy fines extorted by the count from both friends and foes, and inhuman outrages committed by the godless hordes who followed a leader who could only promise them plunder for pay, the army which had come to reconquer the Palatinate had to flee from the avenging Tilly and seek safety in Alsace. Mansfeld looked upon bishops as his peculiar prey, and his entry into the territory of the Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Strasburg, was marked by fire, plunder, and the sword. Such was the man whom Frederick, Elector Palatine, had chosen, with the desperate recklessness of a gambler, to uphold his falling fortunes. Weak and undecided as Frederick was, he knew enough of Mansfeld to make him suspect his integrity of purpose. The man who changes sides once can never be fully trusted again. Knowing this, and deeming his presence might have a beneficial and stimulating effect on Mansfeld and his army, Frederick determined to secretly join the count in Alsace. He accordingly left the Hague in March, in disguise, and, accompanied by only two persons, passed into France by sea. Making his way through Lorraine and through the midst of his enemy's troops, he arrived at Landau, where Count Mansfeld had a garrison. Here he made himself known, and from thence went to Gemersheim, where he was received with the general applause of the whole army.[1] Frederick's arrival changed the aspect of affairs, as Mansfeld was secretly negotiating with an agent of the Archduchess Isabella's from Brussels, when the Palatine arrived on the scene.[1] It might have been better, it could not well have been worse, for the Palatine's cause, if his rapacious and versatile lieutenant had then and there made terms with the enemy, and thrown up for good the commission he held under the ex-King of Bohemia. As it was, a sudden gleam of sunshine threw its cheering influence over the path of the exiled elector, and lured him on to his fate. Mansfeld broke off his negotiations with the Brussels agent, and returned with fresh zest to the Palatine's service. The Duke of Baden, hearing of Frederick's arrival at Gemersheim, raised troops to assist in the reconquest of the Palatinate, and last, but not least, the heroic Christian of Brunswick, administrator of Halberstadt, took the field with all the forces he could raise, to fight for Frederick and the fair young Elizabeth.[2]

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[1] Roger Coke's *Detection of Court and State of England during the four last reigns* (edit. 1694), i. p. 133.

The story of Frederick's short campaign in the Palatinate is soon told. Mansfeld chose to separate his forces from those of the Duke of Baden. The latter was attacked near Wimpfen on the Neckar by a much superior force under Tilly, and his army routed. In the meantime Mansfeld was on his way to Haguenau in Alsace, a stronghold he had wrested from Archduke Leopold, and which that bellicose churchman had now laid siege to, hoping to recover his own property in the count's absence. But Mansfeld swooped down on the archduke, causing him to raise the siege and beat a hasty retreat, leaving his artillery and baggage behind for his rapacious enemy. After this successful foray Mansfeld returned to the Palatinate and rejoined Frederick at Mannheim—one of the three cities of refuge still left to the elector. Having made a fresh agreement with the Duke of Baden, Frederick once more set out at the head of a large army composed of Mansfeld's forces and the remnant of the Duke of Baden's troops. It was planned beforehand that they were to join forces with Duke Christian of Brunswick, who was approaching the Main at the head of a fine body of troops. Instead of attempting to reach the Brunswickian army with all possible expedition, Frederick committed the egregious blunder of marching to Darmstadt, and forcing the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt to receive him and his troops into the town. Louis of Hesse-Darmstadt being a strong Lutheran had small sympathy with the disinherited Calvinist elector, but he had remained neutral in the late troubles, and had tried every means in his power to mediate a peace between Frederick and the emperor. He had, indeed, been employed in trying to bring about a conference for negotiating a peace for some weeks prior to Frederick's invasion of his territory. Louis's neutrality having been hitherto respected, this generous-minded prince had, at Frederick's earnest solicitation, given leave for the Palatine's army to march through part of his territory *en route* for Frankfort, to join Christian of Brunswick. Twenty-four hours after this concession had been granted, Mansfeld's whole force, with Frederick at its head, left Mannheim and entered the neutral territory of Hesse-Darmstadt, sowing, according to its custom, ruin and death in its passage.[1] Turning aside from the Frankfort road, Frederick and his army made straight for Darmstadt. An aide-de-camp was sent on in advance to request permission from the Landgrave for Frederick, his suite and ordinary guard to lodge in Darmstadt Castle for one night. This request was in reality a command, which Louis was obliged to obey, and he was still ignorant of the treachery of which he was to be the victim.[1] The gates being opened, Frederick, Mansfeld, and some other officers of high rank with a strong guard were admitted into the town, while the army was quartered in villages outside. The next day the mask was thrown off. Louis was asked to furnish troops for Frederick's army, wagons to carry provisions, and to lend a sum of 200,000 reichsthalers to pay certain regiments to whom large sums were owing. Not satisfied with this dishonourable action, Frederick's ill advisers drew up a treaty in the King of Bohemia's name for the Landgrave to sign by which the latter bound himself to support Frederick's cause both in the field and in the negotiations for peace, &c., &c., and to deliver up to Frederick's troops the Castle of Russelsheim on the Main, which commanded the passage of the river. Louis, feeling himself a prisoner and in the power of the Palatine, determined to secretly leave Darmstadt. In company with his second son he left the town one dark night, but was unfortunately met by a sentinel and arrested as he was leaving the town. Louis was now openly guarded as a prisoner in his own capital. Still refusing to deliver up Russelsheim or sign the treaty, the unfortunate prince was carried off as a prisoner by the invading army.

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[1] Villermont's *Ernest de Mansfeldt*, i. p. 387.

[2] Schiller, pp. 121–2.

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[1] *Ernest de Mansfeldt*, ii. p. 15.

Mansfeld now marched to Russelsheim, hoping to capture that necessary stronghold, but meeting with a stout resistance, and time pressing, he had to abandon the attack. Before he could form a junction with Duke Christian's troops on the other side of the Main, Tilly was reported to be approaching with a large force at his back. Not feeling strong enough to cope with Tilly's veterans, Mansfeld beat a quick retreat.[1] Tilly's cavalry came up with the rearguard between Bensheim and Lorsch and inflicted a heavy loss upon it. The rest of Mansfeld's army found refuge once more within the walls of Mannheim. Christian was now left to the mercy of Tilly, who pounced upon him as he was crossing the Main at Hochst, near Frankfort, and annihilated most of the Brunswickian force, capturing all the baggage. Christian himself, with a few hundred cavalry, arrived at Mannheim just as Mansfeld was again marching forth to join him. The meeting of the two commanders was by no means friendly. They mutually loaded each other with reproaches. The Duke of Baden, seeing the hopeless state of affairs, departed with his troops and made terms with the emperor.[2] This defection completely humiliated Frederick. On June 23, he left Mannheim for Alsace in company with Mansfeld and Christian, after having released the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, who had been forced to sign a paper, in which Louis promised to do all in his power to bring about a peace in Germany, to advance the restoration of the Elector Palatine to his hereditary dominions, and to abstain from all acts of hostility and vengeance against Frederick. Thus did Frederick V., Elector Palatine, once more leave the home of his fathers, his last act being to wring from the friend he had so basely treated a promise that he would not retaliate upon the man who had carried out, if he had not planned in the first instance, a base deception almost unparalleled in the annals of war.

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[1] Frederick's messenger had assured the Landgrave of the ex-King's friendship and honesty of purpose in these words : "My Lord, the King, my master, comes as a friend, and is unmindful of any hostility which may be between you and him. He has charged me to add that since your Highness was employing yourself in the re-establishment of peace he would confer with you, and by this means much prolixity could be avoided and time gained."—*Ibid.* p. 19.

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[1] Villermont says Mansfeld's return to Mannheim was due to his hearing that Tilly was threatening that place, and in his anxiety to save the spoils he had left behind in Mannheim, he retraced his steps, instead of attempting to cross the river and join the Duke of Brunswick, as Frederick and the Duke of Baden implored him to do.—*Ernest de Mansfeldt*, ii. p. 68.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 71.

Three weeks after Frederick's departure from Mannheim he went through the form of releasing Mansfeld and his officers from their oath of allegiance to him, no longer being able to control their lawless actions. Frederick departed to Sedan for a season, where he was hospitably entertained by his uncle, the Duke of Bouillon, and Ernest de Mansfeld accepted the offer of the States-General to transfer his army to Holland and assist the States' army in relieving Bergen-op-zoom.

After a skilful, but disastrous, march from Alsace, Mansfeld arrived within half a league of the village of Fleurus, near Brussels, on the high road to Bergen-op-zoom. Here he found his way barred by Cordova, who had been sent with a large force to dispute the way. A battle was unavoidable. At the very moment that Mansfeld was marshalling his hosts in line of battle, two of his regiments broke into open mutiny and declared they would not fight unless they first received their arrears of pay. Mansfeld was equal to the occasion, mutiny of the worst kind being very prevalent in his army.[1] He begged the mutineers, if they would not fight, at least to deceive the enemy by keeping together in a body at a distance, and so give the idea that they were being kept in reserve.

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[1] It is related of Mansfeld that when he was unable to pay his soldiers, which was very often the case, they would come and break open his doors, clamouring loudly for pay. On these occasions he always threw himself among them, pistols in hand. "What do you want?" he cried. "Money!" they replied. "Those saying so," says the historian, "were sure to have those pistols discharged into their guts." He would then ask again, "Who will have money?" This time no one vouchsafed a reply, and they all slunk away. —Wilson's *History of James I.*, pp. 759–60.

They agreed to this, and with the rest of his army, assisted by Christian of Brunswick, he charged the enemy with the greatest bravery. After repeated charges Christian[1] routed the Spanish cavalry and drove them from the field. The enemy retired, but Mansfeld was unable to follow them, and his victory, if so it can be called, was dearly bought.

Mansfeld's arrival at Gertruydenberg is mentioned in a letter from one of Sir Edward Cecil's officers to Secretary Calvert :—

> "On Saturday, the 24th of this [Sept.] n.s. our troops [the States' army] removed from before Skincksconce, and this the 28 we arrived at Gertrudenback, from whence I presume we shall march towards Bargin. Just now Count Mansfeld cam to see the Prince of Orange, who entertained him very curtoosly [courteously], but met him no further then the door of his dining room. The Troopes that he hath brought to the States service are fifty five Companies of Horse, each ought to be 100; 27 Companies of Foot, som at 200 and som at 150—rekond to be 4,000 Foot and 4,500 Horse. . . . Just now his Ex. sent orders that all the Impediments of the Army shall march to-morrow, and he himself goes to Bredau in the morning to draw with us 77 peeses of Artillery, small and great, and [we] shal be 200 foot companies and 90 companies of horse."[2]

The four English regiments, which were in the service of the United Provinces, marched with the army sent to relieve Bergen-op-zoom. These were the regiments of Vere, Cecil, Morgan, and Sidney. The first numbered fourteen companies, and was commanded by Sir Edward Vere during Sir Horace Vere's absence in the Palatinate.

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[1] In the last cavalry charge Christian was severely wounded in his right arm, which had to be amputated soon after.

[2] Captain Couldwell to Calvert, Sept. 28, st. no.—*S. P. Holland.*

Cecil's numbered eight companies, which had been drawn from their garrisons as follows:—

"Utrecht	Company Collonel [Cecil's company]
"Schoonhaven	Lieut.-Col. Pakenham
"Breda	Alan Zouch
"Doesburgh	Proude
"Utrecht	Corbett
"Wych	Couldwell
"Swolle	Sackvile
"Breda	×Gerard Herbert."[1]

It is interesting to note at this early period how well the system of *Purchase* was understood and carried out. Sir Charles Morgan, the lieutenant-colonel of Sir John Ogle's regiment, had purchased the colonelcy from Sir John Ogle in the spring of 1622, and by Sir John Ogle's account Morgan had not "overpurchased himself."[2] Whatever the sum was that Morgan agreed to pay, it would seem he had some difficulty in raising it.[3] Lord L'Isle, being anxious to leave the army, had several good offers for his regiment. Sir Charles Rich offered him £2,000 for the colonelcy, and £300 a year for life.[4] This, in those days, was a very large sum indeed. Lord L'Isle also received a very advantageous offer from Sir Edward Harwood,[5] his lieutenant-colonel, a worthy and gallant officer, in every way fitted for the command. It was finally agreed, subject to the Prince of Orange's approval, that Harwood was to have the colonelcy, and Sir Henry Herbert the lieutenant-colonelcy, the latter paying Colonel Harwood a certain sum for vacant step.[1]

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[1] List of troops in the Dutch army, Sept. 14, 1622.—*S. P. Germany.* The cross against Sir Gerard Herbert's name is doubtless to show he was dead. This gallant officer, a kinsman of the Earl of Pembroke, was killed at Heidelberg, on Sept. 6, whilst defending the castle against Tilly and his soldiers, who had, after an obstinate siege, captured the town.

Ogle to Carleton, May 3, 1622.—*S. P. Holland.*

[3] Sir E. Cecil to Carleton, May 4, 1622.—*S. P. Holland.*

[4] Lord L'Isle to Sir D. Carleton, Jan. 31, 1623.—*S. P. Holland.*

Ibid. The terms offered by Harwood were about £500 less, but he had most right to the colonelcy.

On Sept. 29, the States' army, including Count Mansfeld's troops, set out from Gertruydenberg on their march to relieve Bergen-op-zoom. Their arrival there, with an account of the siege from its commencement to its close, is chronicled in an interesting manuscript journal of the period, by an eye-witness of some of the events he relates. Special mention being made of General Cecil in this journal, an abridged copy of it is now given :—

"A DISCOURSE OF THE BESEIGING, DEFENDING AND RELIEVING OF THE TOWN OF BERGEN OP ZOME IN THE YEAR 1622."[2]

The writer begins his journal with praise of the Prince of Orange's military abilities and the discipline of the Dutch army.

"As he doth quarter his Army," says this unknown writer in eulogising the Prince of Orange, "so he doth quarter and divide the whole day, and most part of the night, to lodge his Army of busines in, and that for each quarter of an houre he hath a particular man to despatch, and a severall [separate] busines to give order for . . . . for he neither eates, drinkes, nor sleepes, but it is in order: when his meat is once set upon the Table,[3] it is not the fashion to remove a dish as though [h]is vessell stood in battalia. His expences in his house and stables, his wages and liveries, are alwaies the same. His Pages and laquais are alwayes [dressed] in the same fashion hee is in, and hee himself is *semper idem*, the same outside and the same inside, for his Tailor comes not about him, but fitts a statue hee hath made of himself, soe [h]is clothes are alwayes of the same fashion, and most commonly of the same stuffe, and his gestulations and actions are still alike . . . ."

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[1] Lord L'Isle to Sir D. Carleton, Jan. 31, 1623. See also May 28, naming agreement between him and Harwood. Among the *Holland State Papers* for May, 1623, is a letter from Sir Wm. St. Leger to Sir D. Carleton, enclosing an indenture between him and Lieut. Edward Nelson, in which St. Leger agrees to make over his foot company to his lieutenant, the said Edward Nelson, for the sum of £500, which appears to have been the price of a foot company at this period.

[2] *Royal MSS.* 18A, lxiii.

[3] The plainness of Prince Maurice's diet is known to us by the well-known anecdote of his inviting the luxurious Lord Hay (Earl of Carlisle) to dine upon two dishes, of which one was a boiled and the other a roasted pig.

The army in the Low Countries was divided into three brigades :—

"1st Brigade—Prince of Orange, commander, English and Dutch regiments.
2nd Brigade.—Count Henry commands Walloons and French.
3rd Brigade—Count Ernest, the Marshal of the army, commands Dutch and Scotch."

". . . . and they (the Dutch) mingle and blend the Scottish among them, which are like Beanes and Peas among chaffe. These [the Scotch] are sure men, hardy and resolute, and their example holds up the Dutch."

The writer goes on to confess his weakness in military knowledge, and says, "I am but an apprentice in this craft of soulgerie." He then proceeds to say :—

"If I shall write freely of this or that commander, it is not my owne censure or opinion, but what I have gathered and learned from his Excellencie [Prince Maurice] and the rest of the Cheifes whom I found very affable . . . . There were three principal events in the Low Countries in the year 1622. The first, and most memorable, the Siege of Bergen op Zome; the second, the battle of Ffleury;[1] and thirdly, the leager at Skinkesconce . . . . I have often heard Generall Cecill say, whoe is a great Master of his art and hath the three perfections of a commander; for first hee hath commanded horse as a private Captaine, which fewe

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[1] Fleurus.

Colonells of foote have don; next, I believe his skill in fortification is his masterpeece (for at Gulicke he drewe his lines himselfe, and though he began last he was first in the Rampire to the honor of our Nation), and for his service and discipline of foote his privat Company and whole Regiment may be a patterne to the rest; and if there be anything in this Treaty[1] [treatise] worthy yo^{r} reading, I must acknowledge my Author, whoe is this heroick gentleman, out of whose discourse and company I have collected theis loose notes, as out of a book of the Warres [and have heard Gen. Cecil say], that if one enemy knewe what another did, the Warres would quickly be at an end. Yet certainly those of the other side have better intelligence than the States. It is confessed and granted in a manner by his Ex. himself it was strange that such a body of 8,000 foote and 2,000 horse should march and lye before Bergen, and the towne be invested by the Horse before his Exc. got the least inkling of it. Directly word was brought to the Prince of Orange, he, knowing the small garrison there was in Bergen op Zome, poured with all expedition 7,000 men down the swift Rhine,[2] who arrived before the enemy had attempted anything, which proves that what Generall Cecill said was right, for had Don Luis de Velasco known in what state the town was in, and how the few soldiers who garrisoned it were astonished and alarmed at beholding such a vast army before their gates, hee might have made but a Sport and Game of the towns and men . . . . hee that should have taken them napping it seems was in a slumber himself, for he laye ten daies before the towne loytring and playeing the Trewant. . . . Old soldiers in the garrison who had been at the siege of Ostend said they were sure the Marquis Spinola was not before the towne by their proceedinges. . . . I cannot understand what Don Luis de Velasco did in this interim, except he was studying the Mathematicks to inhable himself for the seige."

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[1] This manuscript journal, in its details of the siege, corresponds very exactly with *A Journall or Daily Register of all those war-like atchievements which happened in the siege of Berghen up Zoome*, &c., &c., translated out of the original Low Dutch, and printed in 1622.

[2] Crosse says the Prince of Orange despatched some ships from Skinckesconce with twenty-four companies of Dutch, French, English, and Scotch, under the command of Colonels Fama and Henderson (p. 1420).

The author describes how the garrison made up for the Spanish commander's idleness by repairing their outworks, and he then narrates how he had the honour to wait upon General Cecil on that officer's coming into the town before the enemy made their first approaches, and he overheard General Cecil say to Rhyhoven [1] (governor of the town), when walking upon the ramparts with Colonel Henderson (the British commanding officer in Bergen), that the enemy would approach that night, and he wished them to double the watch and to keep firing all night.

By next morning the enemy had advanced within half a musket shot of the hornworks. A council of war was held, and it was determined to sally forth with two or three hundred men.

"The Governor, Colonell Henderson, and Generall Cecill, who was but a looker on," continues our author, "went out together, but it seemes [General Cecil] sawe more than those who should have plaide the game, for they both asked his advice. The Governor confessed his ignorance in fortification and that hee never commanded foote; hee is a Colonell of horse, and is esteemed one of their ablest comanders of horse. Colonell Henderson, beinge a discreet and valiant gentleman, conferred with Generall Cecill, who was his great friend and his Generall at Gulicke. I stood close by, and heard what hee said and I sawe what hee did. Hee told the Governor and Colonell H. that they must be good husbands of their men, for, said hee, you shall see with small bodyes I will doe the same effect as with great ones; soe hee sent [out] a Lieutenant with fiftie musketteers and seconds upon seconds. This skirmish lasted all the morning.[2] At length hee did what hee desired, which was to beate theire enemys from the line and the little hedges which served them as under covert to come to the foot of the outworks."

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[1] Commander of Dutch cavalry.

[2] This sortie was on August 1.—*Dutch Journal of siege.*

The completion of the outworks went on slowly on account of the enemy's fire, which killed divers men and ounded others. The British troops were conspicuous for their bravery.

"I sawe them run on and give fire in their Enemy's faces," writes our author, "and they would leavy in leaning on their [musket] rests and looke after their shott, as though they had been so many fowlers which watch to see the fowl fall that they may be sure of the body.

"Before Generall Cecill and his Company [party] came to Bergen, those of the towne had made a grand sally of three thousand.[1] This was the first and greatest piece of service."

Describing this sally, our author says :—

"The English and Scotch had the van, the Dutch the battaille and the French the rere. They marched in length or tailwise, and the van making more hast than good speede, was at the Enemyes quarter and gone on, before the rere was out of the towne. The fault was laid on the French that they were too slow, though they have the reputation of being nimble footed and quick heeled ; but it seems then by their pace they delighted more in one of our English measures than in a French *curranto* . . . . our men goe on bravely : rushinge and thronginge upon one point (as in a crowd), they hendered one another. It was great pittie, for sure they had repulsed the enemy ; yet at length beinge overdone with multitudes, and not bringing half of their owne men in fight, they were beaten backe and forced to retreate, in which retreate they were in great disorder, and had it not been for Monsieur de May,[2] a horse Captaine, our side had receaved a great overthrowe. His troop of horse made the retreate and fought bravely, for hee hurt [wounded] and tooke the Cornet prisoner, and soe disordered their troope of Horse that the Captaine ran *a bride abatue* to Antwerpe, with some thirtie horse and tould those of the Towne that theire men were beaten out of their trenches, and that all was lost, for which newes hee was hanged for his paines. Wee had foure troopes of horse and the enemy had sixe, but our horsemen had a pretty stratagem to affright and amaze the enemy, for they set their boys with truncheons in their hands[1] afarr of[f] that they appeared soe many troopes more to second them, which made both the horse and foote to retreate. . . . There was one Captain Seton slaine, who was newly made Captaine, a valiant and hopefull gentleman; and there was one Capt. Courtney hurt, who was hurt again in Bergen. This Captaine is of Gen. Cecill's Reg^t, and he esteemes him to be an extraordinary brave souldier. There was likewise Capt. Fardinando Carey, who then receaved a wound, which is a reward and mark of honor for his brave service. Gen. Cecill could make no long stay at Bergen by reason his Excellency expected him daily in the field, but that time hee was there hee was alwayes in action, either giving directions for sallies, or visiting the outworks and viewing the sally ports. . . . When Gen. Cecill left the Towne I observed the chiefes to be much troubled, especially the Governor, who was to blame to send his wife and children out of the Towne, for this example wrought upon the poor Burghers. . . . Col. Henderson and the rest of the Captaines though they could not feare, yet they did mistrust the Towne, but my Generall did cry 'courage, I am confident wee must releeve you, for,' said hee, 'both our rests are up.'

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[1] On July 22.—*Dutch Journal of siege.*

[2] De Mets, captain of French cavalry.

"When Gen. Cecill had made his report of the state of the towne to his Exc. and that the Marquis Spinola [was] come[2] (which wee understood by certaine runaways), and had begun to make his approaches, his Exc^y called for his mapp and inquired whether they approached upon Kick of the Pott (*sic*) or the Haven?[3] Gen. Cecill showed him at what bulwarke they pointed and drewe their lynes at, and that they ran quite another course. His Exc. began to argue with him by reason the Marquis Spinola was so long before hee came, and his manner of approachinge being contrary to expectation and reason, hee was confirmed in his opinion that hee [Spinola] had some other designe, in making a faint at Bergen, to thrust home at Bridaugh [Breda] or the Grave. His Excellency assured himself that the Marquis knewe the towne as well as hee, and hee imagined hee could not be so mistaken, by reason the Prince of Parma had shewed him the waye long before;[1] for hee went the right way to worke though hee had the wrong end of the staffe. Hee drewe his line directly upon the Haven. Generall Cecill tould his Exc^y the next newes hee heard hee should be certaine the Marques would make a winter seige of it, except hee [Prince Maurice] intended to releeve the towne, which at length hee would be constrained to doe, and that they would find their error in not approachinge upon Kicke of the Pott and the Haven, which they did at length, though they lost a great deale of time (which is the thinge of greatest consequence, especially in matters of fortification).

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[1] Crosse mentions the "horseboys" being sent with "white staves" in their hands to a rising ground some distance off (p. 1424).

[2] Spinola arrived at the Spanish camp on July 28 with additional forces.—*Ibid.* p. 1420.

[3] The haven or harbour was to the east of the town. The fort of Kick-de-Pott, on the south-east of the town, was a most important outwork, and the Spaniards kept up a strong fire against it.—*Ibid.* p. 1423.

The chronicler of this siege now proceeds to describe, in his own pedantic style, the heavy fire kept up by the Spaniards against the town, "which made the inhabitants think their day of judgment was come."[2]

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[1] The Prince of Parma had besieged Bergen in 1588. The town is situated on a stream connected with the Scheldt, and is bounded on the east by the island of Tholen, which is only separated from the mainland by a narrow stream. This stream (the Vosmeer) was, at the time we write of, practicable for wading at very low tide. It was along the bed of this stream that Parma sent a large force one night to capture Tholen, the key to Bergen, on the east side but the Spaniards could not effect a landing, and were forced to retreat with great loss.

[2] According to the Dutch journal of the siege, most of the citizens of Bergen so soon accustomed themselves to the incessant cannonading and perpetual storm of falling bullets, that they paid little or no attention to them. A good story is told in this Dutch journal of a citizen who bragged of his courage to a soldier on the ramparts, and said he wished a bullet would wound him that he might have an honourable scar. As the citizen left the ramparts the soldier slyly picked up a bullet, and threw it at the citizen's retreating head. The sudden blow on the back of his head made the valiant citizen believe he had received his death wound, and he fell on the ground crying out he was killed. When convinced of his error he was anxious to find the bullet that had struck

"Cannon raked and wounded the earth, but the earth resisted and deaded the fury of the bulletts. There was such a perpetuall fogg and mist of gunpowder, as one would have thought the clouds were broken and fallen upon the earth. At every myne that was sprunge the heavy earth would spout and shoot herself upward, and poure downe like a suddaine storme and tempest, soe the earth seemed to be sky and the sky earth. Yet for all this allarum his Exc. was too backwards in sending those supplies of men, Cannon and Ingeneers, which wants Generall Cecill put him often in mind of."

It was as this critical time that the gallant Colonel Henderson was slain "in a terrible fight which lasted a night and a whole morning."

"I will say nothing in commendation of Colonell Henderson," says our author; "his owne actions commend him in the highest degree, for hee stood all the fight in as great danger as any common souldier, still encouradging, directing, and acting with his Pike in his hand. At length hee was shot in the thigh; hee receaved his wound at the front, or, as most say, being over earnest, hee stepped into his enemy's trenches. Soe hee was nothing but spirit and courage. Hee shewed it cheefly in his devotion and in his earnest calling upon God in his time of sicknes, and hee was so willinge to dye that hee made but a recreation of it; for after he had receaved the Sacrament hee remembered his friends very chearfully, and being extreme[ly] hott, hee asked his Phisitian [for leave] to drinke some water; soe his Phisitian (seeing hee was but a dead man) let him have his will. Hee dranke five healthes; the first was to the King, the second to the Prince, the third to the Queen of Bohemia, the fourth to the Prince of Orange, and the last to the Earle of Marre.[1] When hee had done hee desired his brother[2] to thrust him down into his bed, and soe tooke his leave of this miserable life."

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him. The facetious soldier picked it up, but refused to give it to the citizen unless he gave him a piece of money and a bottle of wine. This the citizen did, wishing to show the bullet to his family.

[1] John Erskine, 7th Earl of Mar, who died 1634.

[2] This was doubtless his brother Francis Henderson, who obtained the colonelcy of this Scotch regiment on the death of his gallant brother. "Sir

In this same action Sir Michael Everard, a gallant English captain, received a mortal wound.

"Wee may easily imagine the fury of this fight," says the old chronicler, "when wee doe but consider how much pouder was spent. I heard it reported by the States themselves that in the compasse of twelve houres those of the towne shott 12,000 pounds of powder. It was thought those of the other side lost eight or nine hundred men. . . . After the losse of Colonell Henderson, his Exc. was much moved, and conferred with Gen. Cecill, and as hee made use of his councell and advise, soe hee would have used his person, which Gen. Cecill was never dainty of, but hee knowes the States very well, for as they are the best paimasters, so are they the worst rewarders. Therefore hee had reason to make his conditions beforehand, in which hee did value his honor more than his profitt. Besides, hee did consider hee was to succeede one who had been Colonell under him at Juliers, and that hee had been the Kinge of England's Generall. Yet hee was soe willing to goe that his demands were not soe great as the States free offer to Sir ffrancis Vere where hee went into Oastend, for they made him Governor and Generall over all. Gen. Cecill's conditions were theis. Hee demanded to be Generall of the English and Scottish, and not to be onder the Governor, and to bee Governor of the towne if hee [the Governor] dyed. To have the disposinge of the places as they should fall [vacant], and he would warrant the towne on the English side as long as he lived.[1] His Exc. could not find fault with those conditions, but the States are onwillinge any stranger should be Governor of their fronteere townes (which if the Low Countries ever suffer it will bee for the want of good Governors), yet if Colonel Morgan had miscarryed,

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Francis Henderson is a man well deserving the preferment," wrote Sir D. Carleton to the Duke of Buckingham, "but much wrong is done to my Lord of Bucklugh who had a formal act of the States for the next regiment should fall of the Scottish nation in theyr service." August 25, 1622.—*S. P. Holland.*

[1] Cecil's conditions are mentioned also by Sir D. Carleton in his letter to Buckingham (August 25). "This command," he writes, "was first offered Sir Edward Cecyll as eldest Coronel, but he refused it unlesse he might have a Comission equal to that wherewith Sir Fras. Vere entered into Ostend, with the government of the towne, with the outworkes [which] as it is now in practise will not admit of without a general discontent. '—*S. P. Holland.*

sure the towne had been in a desperate case, and it is very probable his Exc. would have taken Gen. Cecill at his word, which I am sure hee would have performed willingly; but God bee praised it was a great deal better for all parts [parties].

"His Exc. made choise of Sir Charles Morgan, a noble and worthy gentleman, to succeed Colonel Henderson, who revenged his death and did our nation a greate deal of honor. Hee carryed a supply of 2,000 men,[1] and order for Artillery, and his Exc. sent him one Captaine Clarke of Gen. Cecill's Regiment, a famous Ingeneere."[2]

The arrival of Colonel Morgan with succours gave new life to the garrison, and our author, after carefully chronicling all the encounters with the enemy, in which Sir Charles Morgan and his troops gained the advantage, complains bitterly of the injustice done to the British in the Low Country wars by Dutch writers, who give their own countrymen all the praise of actions done by the English. The battle of Nieuport is given as an instance of a battle being won by the valour of the British.

"In this memorable battle of Newport," continues the same writer, "our countrymen appeared in their likenes. The world knowes Sir Francis Vere made that ever admired fight with the English at this battaile, and that hee complayned of the Dutch which should have seconded them, but did not. And after hee was hurt and had lost much bloud, and most of his men and was carryed of[f], General Vere, his brother, made that famous and memorable stand when the Van was beaten in peeces, and mayntained the fight when hee had not left 500 men of 3,000. Soe it was still expected [*i.e.* our defeat] when the enemy should have had the execution of our men, but the Horse (which was not so outmached as the foote) was the cause of the sudden alteration and the turning of the battaile. And those of the other side doe at this present relate the true occasion and reason, for that they say a Colonell of theirs bringing up a Regiment of Horse in charge, a cannon bullett by accident raked off both his armes, and his horse being loose turned head, and the whole Reg^{t} followed in great disorder and fell upon their own foote, which amazed the rest of the Army. His Exc. seeing the whole Army in disorder commanded his last reserve of horse (which were all English) to make a home charge. They put in execution very fortunately his Exc. direction, and it was Gen. Cecill's good hap (whoe was then a Captain of horse) to charge and rout the Archduke's owne gard of Harcabucas [Harquebusiers] being [wearing] blacke Velatt [velvet] coats, and tooke two or three of the Archduke's servants prisoners and gott of his [the Archduke Albert's] owne silver dishes. And I heard his [Gen. Cecill's] Lieutenant, Capt. Bowyer, say, if his Exc. would have given them leave to follow the execution, hee made no question but they might have taken the Archduke prisoner. For this peece of service his Exc. made Gen. Cecill a Colonell of horse. Soe this Battaile was begun, continued and ended by the English. Not to trouble you now with any more examples (though I could name divers), wee might have seen at Bergen that the Dutch desired to see their shades and the English had rather see their swordes.

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[1] Colonel Morgan and his succours arrived on August 26, the communication with Bergen-op-zoom being open by water. Soon after this many volunteers of high rank came to Bergen, to aid in the defence of the place and learn the art of war. Amongst them were Sir William Nassau (afterwards Count of Mœurs), Lord Mountjoy, Sir Robert Oxenbridge with his two brothers, Henry and William; W. Wentworth, Esq., and others.—*Crosse*, p. 1441.

[2] Special mention is made of this scientific officer in *Dutch Journal*, p. 26.

"Thus much of the defendinge and beseiging of Bergen op Zome, nowe of the releevinge."

The author tells of the great preparations made by the Prince of Orange for relieving Bergen-op-zoom, how he drew all his best troops from most of the garrisons, and filled their places with companies of citizens.

"His [the Prince's] Randevous was att Gitterin Berck [Gertruydenberg], where Count Mansfield mett him. Hee used Count Mansfield verie respectively, but with all kept his grandeza, for hee received him in a Roome of State and made an offer to bring him out, but did not. The most externall honor his Exc. did

Count Mansfield was, that after hee was out of the yard hee sent to speake with him and then hee walked out to meete him. Count Mansfield respected his Exc. as his Generall, and in his oath hee was sworne servant to the States and Gen. of his owne troopes to be commanded by his Exc. Next day his Exc. went to his house and Signory of Bridaugh [Breda], where the Duke of Brunswick lay to be cured of his wound. The Duke attended him at the [town] gate and behaved himself as his son, standing bare. His Exc. is a man of ceremony. Hee saluted the Duke and spake theis words, *Vous avez faict en brave homme.*

"The States' army and Count Mansfield's troopes marched the next morning from Gitterin Berck to Bridaugh. They marched not together, but passed by two severall ports of the towne. His Exc. staid that day to see Count Mansfield's troopes pass by [march past?], which Count Mansfield shewed with as much art and advantage as might bee, and both horse and foot marched in excellent order. His Exc. before had sent Mons^r Marquett, Lieutenant-Generall of the horse, to visit the troopes, soe hee knewe them as well as Count Mansfield himself. Though the men were ill-horsed and most of them carreyed no armes, yet they were properable men. His Exc. seemed to like both horse and man. Hee comended the foote verie much, which were verie well accommodated and proper men. Count Mansfield's forces were about 7,500, whereof 4,500 horse and 3,000 foote. Wee tarried but a night at Bridaugh. Next day, till wee came to Rozendale[1] (which is two little daies march from Bridaugh), wee expected the Enemye.

"On Sunday morning the whole Army was on Rozendale heath, which his Exc. drewe out in Battalia. This was a sight able to have wrought upon a coward, and would have served as a whetstone to set an edge upon any blunt appetite to see betwixt seaven and eight thousand horses together moving in so many bodies like so many clouds; the generall neighing of the beasts expressed a kind of joy and laughter . . . . . Then to hear three or four hundred Trumpetts sounding as though they had ben an houst [host] of God's Angells sent to usher and conduct them. Then againe to see the Pikes stalke as though it had ben a movinge grove or coppice and the Musketteers which flanked them seemed as a fence or hedge. And that which affected me most, to see the English Regiments in the Van (which were above 6,000), and to heare our most famous and renowned English march beaten; wee thought the drumms did echo victorie and the whole Army was so chearfull and confident that every poore souldier would shrugg and show an itching desire to fight. . . . The whole Army was about 24,000, but they passed for 26,000. Never Army was in better equipage. They drewe 70 peeces of Artillery, great and small. To every Manapall (*sic*) or Battalion there was allowed two of his Exc. newe devised peeces called Drakes. There was at least 5,000 waggons loaden with all provisions necessary for such an Army. Gen. Cecill should have commanded his Exc. Brigade as Sir ffrancis Vere did at the battle of Newport, and I make no question if they had fought butt he would have gott as much honor that day by commanding the foote as hee did at the Battaile of Newport by commanding the horse; hee is esteemed [considered] which [by those who] knowe him perfectly to bee verie like both his Masters, his Exc. and Sir ffrancis Vere, in having the method of the one and the daring of the other.

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[1] About a league from Bergen-op-zoom.

"But meethinks I perceive many of our yonge and brave spirits whoe, because they have performed a duell well, suppose themselves capable to censure and judge of Armyes and Generalls. Theis are impatient and importunate to knowe whether his Exc. would have fought or no. There are others who happily have been Comanders in the States service, and beinge discontented have quitted their Companies, and live in Garrison in the good Towne of London and hould their Councell of Warre in a taverne. Theis are those which are the cause of the lazines and ignorance of our youth; for they will teach them to roar and vapour, and make them beleeve they are capable of any commaund. I have been in the company of one of these by chance whoe (when hee hath been in the midst of his cupps) hath shewed himself so valiant and ambitious, that meethought I sawe the briske clarret boylinge and seethinge out of his braine and his thoughts all in a flame, soe the whole man appeared unto mee like a gallant [gallon] of burnt claret. Hee would often wish himself a Generall, and though hee never sawe mee before (I thank him) hee would make mee a Colonell amongst the rest of his company. It is good sport to heare this kind of people censure, which they will do both when they are drunk and sober. They will begin with the Prince of Orange, and not stick to say hee is a ranke coward; and as they will make a valiant man a coward, soe they will make a coward a valiant man, and commend and disparage this and that Colonel of such and such a Nation.

"In the meantime, theise adopted and newe christened souldiers take the allarum hot and infect their companions, and by consequence all the youth of the Towne of London are thus poisoned. . . . Noe marvaile the Prince of Orange hath suffered by such impostures as theise when divers of his own Captaines and souldiers are most forward and apt to censure him. I have knowne others (who seemed more forward than the rest) would tell mee they feared nothinge but that they should have no fightinge work, and that let them say what they would they knewe his Exc. durst not releeve the towne of Bergen. But when I saluted them in [on] the march and asked them what they thought nowe, they wanted their Bone [Beaune?] wine and pulled their hattes over theire eyes, when as before they putt up their broad brims and looked as though they would have shott theire enemyes through with their eyes. . . . There are likewise some ould Comaunders which are weary of the Warres, and having gott some meanes desire to retire themselves, and if they may not put of [part with] their Companies upon what Conditions they please, they will speake ill and raile upone his Exc. and the States, and disparage the country as much as they can. I have knowne some which are esteemed brave Comaunders to doe the like and have shewed more feare to loose [lose] their money than their lives, for when they have been wounded they would scarce goe to the charge of the Chirurgeon. There are many Captaines and officers which buy and value the title above the Comaund, and it hath bin often seen by experience that their [there] have been those which have bought a Company one yeare and soulde it the next. Soe likewise for officers, for they thinke it a brave thinge at their returne to be noted in the streetes and called out of a Taverne windowe to drink a quart of wine by the name of Captaine, Lieutenant, or Ancient [Ensign] such a one. Theis, though they looked sneakingly and were shamfast [shamefaced] in an Army, will talk bouldly of the Prince of Orange and discourse of leaguers, and every word that falls from their mouthes is a word of Art in souldiery; nothing but Demilunes, Ravelinges, Parapetts, Counterscarfes (*sic*), and Hornworkes.

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"As soone as his Exc. entered into the Dorpe of Rozendale, wee had no sooner sett our Avenewes of Horse but a troope of the enemye's horse charged our Centinels and made them retire, and fell upon our gard of horse. They came up daringly and fought bravely. There were three of the Enemye's [troopers] slaine by a squadron of our Musketteers which lay in ambuscado behinde a hedge and wee tooke two prisoners; yet they had what they came for, and took a prisoner which was bravely don, and soe [they] retired to seaven other troopes of horse which were ready to second them. It seems Spinola would hardly beleeve (though hee knewe his Exc. would releeve the Towne) that hee was soe neere, or that hee was growne so bould of a suddaine to seeke him. So it seems the Prince of Orange came sooner than he was expected, for that night the Marquis set his Quarters on fire.[1] From Rozendale wee sawe the flame perfectly, and wee did imagine onely that the horse which had beaten the enemy from Woe [Wouw], a castle two miles and a half of[f], was the cause that the enemy quitting the place had set some Barne, where their forage was, on fire. Soe his Exc. gott not word till the next morning that the Enemy was risen, and the newes came to him but by one man, and it was three or foure o'clock of the afternoone before it was seconded [followed], soe there was no stirring for him that day."

In describing the state the enemy's camp was found in, the writer says:—

"Spinola shewed a great deal of distraction, for he forgott his Gods and left his Altars behind him, and there were divers images found; amongst the rest I heard it reported there was found a Medallion which was sent unto him from the Jesuites of Antwerpe with the picture of our Lady of [on] the one side and the figure and motto of Victoria on the other. I will not swear that this is true, but I am sure whether hee left the Medalia or not, yet hee left the thinge which was the Victorie itself behind him.[1] . . . The Prince of Orange's welcome to Bergen was so great that one of the States [deputies] in the towne who should have made a congratulatory oration was not able to speake. . . . Another of the States [deputies] supplied his place with a short and hastie speech. His wordes were 'WELCOME OUR PRINCE.' 'Noe,' said the Prince, 'I am your servant, and I have but done my duty.' What they wanted in wordes they supplied in deedes, for they laid a generall imposition that every head over [in] the seaven Provinces should pay a Guilder, which is two shillings English, as an extraordinary towards the warres. The people were so pleased and transported at the releevinge of the Towne that in that fit they would have given them silver to their shirts. Ffor a week together there was nothing but drinking, singing, bonefires and a perpetuall concourse of people from Holland and Zeland.[2] . . . . The prison gates were set open and everie man and woman had the shackells of feare knocked of[f] their leggs."

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[1] October 2. On October 6 a body of troops was detached from Bergen to retake the small town of Steenbergen, which lies due north of Bergen, and which had been taken by the Spaniards at the commencement of the siege. It was immediately surrendered to the States' troops.

Nothing now remained but to exchange and ransom those officers of the States' army who had been taken prisoners by the Spaniards since the commencement of the summer campaign. Chief among the prisoners taken by the Spaniards was the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, whose capture was named by Sir Edward Cecil in his letter to Lord Middlesex of August 13. Our ancient chronicler thus refers to the ransoming of this gallant prince in one of the closing paragraphs of his narrative of the siege and relief of Bergen-op-zoom :—

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[1] According to the *Dutch Journal*, the enemy lost 11,000 men during this siege, and the besieged only 600 (p. 29).

[2] There were great rejoicings in London when it was known that Spinola had raised the siege, and the Dutch commissioners then in London had a display of fireworks, &c. Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct. 5 [o. s.].—*S. P. Dom.*

> "There is a new Quarter concluded which is by the Enemye's own seeking. There was two Commissioners deputed on both sides for the ransoming of Prisoners, especially the Duke of Wimarke, who was but a horse captain, yet being of so great a blood (as hee is the true Duke of Saxe by all right), Spinola would not let him be ransomed without acquainting the Infanta, and shee would heare first out of Spaine. 'Oh,' said his Ex., smiling, 'sure Muns^{r} le Marquis thinks I begin to dote, doth he think hee can put his old gross cheekes and slurres of lingrings and deferringes upon mee?' After he had sent many Trumpets to and fro to Count Henry de Bergh (who tooke him) and to Spinola, at length hee despatches his Commissioners with a peremptory message to Marquis Spinola [to] send him his prisoner, the Duke of Wimarke, or ells hee would breake the Quarter presently and put all to the sword. At this time wee had many prisoners of the enemye both horse and foot. The Commissioners from Spinola excused the retayning of the Duke, that they did it because they desired to have the honor to cure him and restore him safe and sound. Soe they kept their words against their wills, for after so many puttings off at length hee was ransomed."

Thus was brought to an entirely successful conclusion the Relief of Bergen-op-zoom. It was unhappily the last gleam of sunshine that cast a bright halo upon the military career of Maurice of Nassau.

The first news the ex-King of Bohemia heard on his return to Holland was that Tilly had taken Heidelberg.[1] A few weeks after, Mannheim surrendered after one of the most gallant defences on record, and Frankenthal, the only place now left to Frederick in the Palatinate, could not hold out many weeks. While these nails were being driven into Frederick's coffin, slowly but surely, James was still pursuing his negotiations for peace with the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Archduchess. Of all these three foreign rulers the widowed archduchess was the only one who really wished for peace, and who really had tried to stem the torrent which swept away with irresistible force the hereditary dominions of the exiled Frederick. Whether her reasons were disinterested matters not, as unfortunately her voice had but little influence with those whom she tried to sway. And the remonstrances and futile threats of James I., King of Great Britain, transmitted to Vienna and Madrid by his ablest diplomatists, were productive of nothing but empty words and promises which were never meant to be kept when they were made. Despite of negotiations, remonstrances, and Protestant discontent, Ferdinand II. carried out what he had long secretly planned in his heart. He transferred the Palatinate to his colleague and friend Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, a man well competent to keep it. "Such," says an old writer, "was the effect of King James's three years' negotiations in favour of his son-in-law, who was at length stript of his dominions and dignities."

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[1] Roger Coke's *Detection of Court and State of England*, &c., i. p. 133.

In the meantime Sir Horace Vere, the brave defender of Mannheim, had returned to England, after disbanding the English regiment which had accompanied him to Germany in 1620. Many of the men were transferred to General Cecil's regiment[1] by the King's command. Vere's arrival in London is thus referred to by one who knew him :—

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[1] "We have not anything from the Low Countries but that General Vere was discharging his men and putting them into General Cecil's regiment by order from hence ; yet Captain Knollys and Captain Thornen [Thornhurst ?] being put to sea with their companies, before the order was come, are since arrived at Gravesend, yet not permitted to land, but to return to serve the States when the wind shall serve. From —— to Rev. Jos. Mead, Jan. 18, 1622–3.—*Court and Times of James I.*, ii. p. 355."

"On Saturday [Jan. 28 ?] arrived here the Lord General Vere, who was next day twice with his Majesty, brought in by the Lord Marquis Buckingham, graciously received, and kissed his Majesty's hands, who is said to have acknowledged his good services . . . . On Monday forenoon I first sought out Mr. French, the General's preacher; afterwards Dr. Wells, his physician, after dinner went and saluted the general himself, and learned from them all that the day before the yielding up of Manheim Castle they had sustained two fierce assaults; that the enemy had received 3,000 fresh men; that themselves had not sufficient powder left to serve two assaults more; which at their departure thence they carried all away with them, and more also of the enemy's to make up the proportion which was agreed upon for them to have; wanted water; had not men enough to defend it [the castle] on the walls (the citadel being full treble as big as the Tower of London), each man standing single and a pike's length asunder and no hope of any succours; and that had they not yielded when they did, they must have been, within three days after, taken by assault and had all their throats cut."[1]

Sergeant-Major John Burroughs[2] made an equally brave defence of Frankenthal, which was besieged by Tilly and his lieutenant, Count Pappenheim. This last stronghold of Frederick, Elector Palatine, was, in consequence of a treaty of sequestration signed in London in March, placed in the hands of the archduchess on April 14. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and a Spanish governor took possession in the name of the Archduchess Isabella, who was to hold the place for eighteen months. "If at the end of that time no reconciliation had been effected between Frederick and the Emperor, an English garrison was to be readmitted."[3] This treaty, which James fondly hoped was to be the precursor of a lasting and advantageous peace for his disinherited children, was, as may be readily supposed, a mere sop to stop a troublesome suitor's mouth, and gain time.

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[1] —— to Rev. J. Mead, Jan. 31, 1623.—*Court and Times*, ii. p. 360.

[2] Knighted by James I. in May, 1623.—*Ibid.* p. 397.

[3] Dr. Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, v. p. 74.

On Feb. 7, in this year, died Sir Edward Cecil's father, the aged Earl of Exeter, having only survived his little daughter[1] five months. The earl's death and funeral are recorded in one of the letters of that period:—

> "On Thursday, in the afternoon, the Earl of Exeter's funeral was kept at Westminster. The body was brought from the Painted Chamber by the Court of Requests down through Westminster Hall and the Palace into King St., and so by the west door into the minster. The Archbishop of Canterbury meant to have preached, but being laid of the gout, Dr. Joseph Hall supplied his place. By reason of his absence, the Lord of Carlisle's, the Lord Andover's, two of his own sons that are sick, and some others, the show was not so great as it should have been, yet they say there was a fair many; but in regard there was neither dinner, supper, banquet, nor so much as a cup of drink; it was called a dry funeral." [2]

By the death of his father, Sir Edward Cecil became possessed of Wimbledon House,[3] with the estate attached to it, which had been settled upon him by his father.[4]

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[1] "The Lady Sophia Anna Cecill, daur. to the Earl of Exeter, was buried in St. John Bapt. Chapl, Sept. 15 [1621]."—*Westminster Abbey Registers.*

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, March 8 (?), 1623.—*S. P. Dom.* "Thomas Cecill, Earl of Exeter, was buried in St. John Baptist's Chappell, February 10 [1622–3]."—*Westminster Abbey Registers.*

[3] Sir Thomas Cecil, first Earl of Exeter, having purchased Wimbledon Manor from Sir Christopher Hatton, began to rebuild it in 1588, two years before he obtained a grant of the manor by exchange with Queen Elizabeth. Aubrey calls it "a noble seat," and Fuller describes it as a "daring structure." See Aubrey's *History of Surrey*, i. p. 14, and Fuller's *Worthies*, pt. iii. p. 78.

[4] Will of Thomas, first Earl of Exeter, proved Feb., 1622–3, leaves all goods, chattels, household furniture and plate at Wimbledon to his son, Sir Edward Cecil; to his four grand-daughters, daughters of Sir Edward Cecil—Dorothy, Albinia, Elizabeth, and Frances—each an antique silver bason; to his daughters-in-law each 100 oz. gilt plate; £200 to Sir Richard Cecil, and £200 to Thomas Cecil. Eldest son sole executor.

Only a passing reference has been hitherto made to the projected marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain. It is a subject that cannot be passed by in silence, for the Spanish marriage was, to use the words of a modern writer, "the needle in the compass which was to guide the voyage and destiny of Christian civilisation for centuries."[1] For this very reason, if for no other, the great marriage bubble scheme of the reign of James I. demands special mention.

As far back as the year 1614, we find James full of the Spanish marriage scheme, and this one idea shaping the course of his foreign and domestic policy. While the idea lasted, England may be said to have been subservient to Spain, for James, like Tantalus of old, was plunged up to his neck in a lake, the waters of which always receded from him whenever he attempted to drink. Over his head hung branches of fruit which receded in like manner when he stretched out his hand to reach them, and a rock suspended over his head was ever threatening to fall and crush him. Spanish statecraft was the lake James was immersed in. The fruit which was alternately dangled in his face and then swung out of his way was the Infanta with her large dowry, and the overhanging rock, always threatening to fall and crush him, was war, the very name of which froze the little marrow there was in his bones and benumbed him into a state of inglorious repose. Setting aside the difference of religion, the advantages of an alliance with Spain were many and great. Spanish power had not yet begun to wane or Spanish wealth to diminish. To be King of Spain and the Indies was the proudest title a European monarch could aspire to. And being, as Spain then was, a central pillar of that colossal structure known as the House of Austria, a Spanish alliance, offensive and defensive, meant safety, and consequently peace and prosperity, to the kingdom happy enough to gain that alliance. James was well aware of all this, and his wish to keep on good terms with Spain was the ruling feature of his reign. A Spanish alliance for his son and heir seemed to him the only way to unite the two kingdoms in the bonds of friendship. James was not far-seeing enough to recognise the fact that even the close ties of marriage and blood are often entirely forgotten when political difficulties arise between two or more nations, which drag them, but not necessarily their allies, into war. The dismemberment of Denmark, and the absorption of Hanover, in modern times, are good instances of the inutility of the ties of marriage and blood between the rulers of two neighbouring kingdoms when one of them is attacked by an aggressive Power. But even supposing a Spanish marriage had taken place, all its good results would have been neutralised by the fact that the Prince's sister was married to the man who called himself head of the Protestant party in Germany. There are few who will not heartily echo the words of a modern historian who, in remarking upon the King of Great Britain's plan of marrying his son to a Roman Catholic princess, after marrying his daughter to the Elector Palatine, says:—"It seems as if he was purposely introducing into his own family the disunion which rent Europe in twain."[1]

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[1] Article in *Quarterly Review*, cxxxix. p. 25.

To please Spain, James put Raleigh to death.[2] And when the Elector Palatine was chosen king by the Bohemians James was partly guided in his obstructive policy by Philip III.'s representations to him that his own (Philip's) right to the kingdom of Bohemia was indisputable, and that he would contend for it with all his strength.[1] To show his trust and friendliness for Spain, James allowed English ordnance to be shipped to that country, and at the Spanish ambassador's request he gave permission for two regiments to be raised in Great Britain to serve under the Spanish flag. The English troops sent to the Palatinate under Vere, on the eve of the invasion of the Electorate by Spinola, were barely sufficient to garrison one town in the Palatinate. In short, the force was just large enough not to be of any permanent use. While Frederick's dominions were being overrun and conquered by Austrians, Bavarians, and Spaniards, James still trusted to Spain to bring about a peace between Frederick and the Emperor—a peace that would result in the latter reinstating the former in his dominions and dignities. The reward for this Christian act was to be a firm alliance between Great Britain and Spain and the Prince of Wales's marriage to the Infanta. The death of Philip III., in the spring of 1621, and the accession of Philip IV., had greatly favoured James's matrimonial scheme for the Prince of Wales. It was said that Philip III. had never really intended giving his daughter in marriage to Charles, and had merely used her as a kind of decoy duck to allure James into his net of political intrigues. The son of Philip II., true to the ambitious schemes of his house, had thought no more of a king for a son-in-law when he saw his way to marrying his daughter to the future Emperor of Austria. His last words to his son and daughter on his death-bed revealed this fact.[2] The wishes of a dying father were soon forgotten by the youthful Philip IV., who gave himself up to a life of pleasure, while all State affairs were left to Count Olivares, the all-powerful minister and favourite of the young monarch. Olivares seems to have been distinguished by patriotism, bigotry, and that dislike of foreigners which has characterised the Spanish race from the earliest to the latest times.[1] True to the statecraft in which he had been educated, he dissembled his real feelings and appeared to fall in with the wishes of Philip, who was as favourably disposed to the English alliance for his sister as his easy-going, unstable nature allowed of. Thus the negotiations for the marriage dragged their weary course through 1621 and 1622, during which period Great Britain lost both honour and *prestige*, James, having delivered himself up to the counsels, or rather the corruptions, of Spain.[2] It was in consequence of the standstill of the marriage negotiations that the Prince of Wales, inspired by youthful romance and eager to win the hand of a princess hedged round with so many difficulties, secretly left England for Spain in company with the Marquis of Buckingham, in Feb., 1623. The sudden departure of Charles for Spain caused a great sensation in England. Buckingham was the only Privy Councillor who knew of the intended journey, and he was with the Prince speeding through France *en route* to Madrid, when the unwelcome news became generally known. The King sent a message to the Council to say it was the doing of the Prince, who wanted to see if he was being fairly dealt with, and that they (the Council) were not told "because secresy was the life of the business."[3]

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[1] Ranke, i. p. 489.

[2] Hallam's *Constitutional Hist. of England*, i. p. 355.

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[1] Ranke, i. p. 490.

[2] Dunlop's *Memoirs of Spain*, 1621–1700, i. p. 3.

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[1] *Abajo el estrangero* (Down with the foreigner) was the popular cry when an ungrateful nation wished to get rid of King Amadeus, their elected sovereign, a few years ago. Indeed, his being a foreigner seems to have been his only crime!

[2] Burnet's *Hist. of His Own Time*, i. p. 29.

[3] Chamberlain to Carleton, Feb. 22, 1622–3.—*S. P. Dom.*

There was one good result in the Prince's journey to Madrid—matters were brought to a climax. For seven years had this marriage treaty been in progress, and when it seemed on the point of completion, it suddenly collapsed altogether. Pope Urban VIII., Olivares,[1] and Buckingham (now raised to a dukedom) have all three been severally accused of wrecking the Spanish marriage ;—the Pope, by desiring too great concessions in matters of religion from the present and the future King of England ; Olivares, by moulding the Spanish Council into his way of thinking concerning the restoration of the Elector Palatine to his dominions and dignity by means of Spanish interference—James had commenced his negotiations with the idea that Spain could bring such pressure to bear on the Emperor as to cause him to restore the Palatinate ; but Olivares, the Buckingham of Spain, had no intention that pressure should ever be used against Ferdinand and Maximilian ; Buckingham, by his great influence over Charles, had no small share in wrecking the marriage ; added to which his having quarrelled with Olivares and disgusted the Spanish Court by his insolence, freedom of manners, and dissolute habits, set the Spanish people against the English match. "The root of the failure lies in the conbination of the religious with the political relations of the two countries,"[2] says a modern historian. This is very true as regards the root of the business, but there were other circumstances combined to prevent the growth of this impossible union. The affection of Charles for the Infanta died a natural death for want of nourishment. The sight of the princess, who was, as he thought, to be the partner of his life, aroused his passion for her to fever-heat; but Spanish etiquette forbid all private interviews between them, and the Prince found to his chagrin that the Maria of his dreams was as far removed as ever from him. He saw her occasionally in public and even spoke to her, but his words were necessarily those of a courtier and not of a lover, while her answers were mere expressions of stereotyped formality. Her deeply religious nature made it an easy task for her confessor to pull her heart-strings in the direction wanted, and, as Olivares controlled the confessor, the poor Infanta[1] became a mere mechanical State machine. She was, in fact, more a slave than the poorest wretch in the Spanish galleys. While the flame of the Prince's passion burnt brightly, Olivares and the Council ground him and bound him down to signing conditions which were highly dishonourable in him as a Protestant Prince to sign, and still more dishonourable in him if he only signed them with the intention to break them at some future time. Whatever Charles may have meant when his passion for the Infanta was at its height, it is very certain his feelings underwent a great change before he left Spain, and that he left that country determined to break off the match as soon as he was at a safe distance, notwithstanding all the articles he had signed and ratified, even going so far as to sign the proxy for his marriage on the day of his departure.

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[1] Gaspar de Guzman, third Conde d'Olivares, Duque de San Lucar de Barrameda, born 1587, and died 1645.

[2] Ranke, i. 516.

The Prince and Buckingham sailed from Santander on Sept. 18, and arrived at Portsmouth on Oct. 5. The following day the Prince passed through London on his way to join the Court at Royston. His arrival in the metropolis was hailed with joy by the people, to whom the Spanish marriage had long been most distasteful,[1] and the day was kept as a great holiday. The Londoners were not mistaken in supposing that Charles's return without his bride was a hopeful sign that the marriage would not take place, for soon after the Prince's return it was rumoured abroad that the Spanish match was broken off, in consequence of Philip IV. declining to comply with James's request of bringing about the restitution of the Palatinate. "I like not," said James, "to marry my son with a portion of my daughter's tears."[2]

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[1] The Infanta Maria, who had been the destined bride of Charles, was married some years afterwards to the King of Hungary, who became emperor by the title of Ferdinand III. She died in childbed in 1646.—*Dunlop*, i. p. 103.

To return once more to Sir Edward Cecil. Private affairs kept him from going over to Holland this year (1623), and he obtained leave from the Prince of Orange, through Sir Dudley Carleton, to remain in England, military affairs being very quiet in the Low Countries this summer. On June 9, we find the English ambassador at the Hague writing to Edward Cecil and sending him the news from the Hague.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir E. Cecil.

"My very good Lord,

". . . . Wee were here this last night surprised by the sodaine arrivall of my Lady Wallingford,[3] who without stay by the way, or sending before, took her adventure [chance] in finding a fitt lodging, w^ch^ y^r^ L^op^ knoweth how it might have fayled her now the towne is full, but it fell out lukly that the Moiran (bespoken about a week or ten dayes hence for Mons^r^ de Chastillon) was empty, where she lodgeth conveniently. It gives new life to this good and gratious Princess[1] to see her old frends, so as I am very glad when such occasions happen, which doe minister some entertaynemt, of w^ch^ (God knoweth) she hath neede, for she is otherwise full of discomfort. I have not fayled to present y^r^ L^op's^ service to her, w^ch^ she takes with wonted kindnes, and asketh mee whether wee shall see y^r^ L^p^ here this sumer, as his Ex^cie^ doth often; but because y^r^ L^op^ sayth nothing of y^r^ coming, I doubt Wimbleton is so faire a tent to change so soone with any here, neyther do wee yet know where o^rs^ are like to be pitched, or when wee shall draw into the field; for I doe not see there is any designe on eyther side by reason of want of money, but all will be governed by chance, and this chance may happen. Tilly is on foote to seeke out Brunswick; Mansfelt projects to march towards Tilly; Tilly, Anholt and Cordova follow Mansfelt. Henry Vandenbergh will undoubtedly follow them. When he stirrs the Prince of Orange will not sit still, and when his Ex^cy^ leaves the Hagh, Bruxelles is no place for the Marquis Spinola. This is like to be the base [of operations]; meanwhile all rests in preparation and expectation, and I rest

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[1] A good story is told of the way a country preacher interpreted the order of the Bishop of London, that the clergy were not to prejudice the Prince's journey to Spain by their prayers, &c., "but only to pray to God to return him home in safety, and no more." An honest, plain preacher, being loth to transgress this order, which really emanated from the King's timid brain, offered up a prayer in his church, "that God would return our noble Prince home again unto us, and *no more!*" Mead to Stutteville, March 29, 1623. —*Court and Times*, ii. p. 380.

[2] Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*, pt. i. p. 165.

[3] Elizabeth, wife of William Knollys, Viscount Wallingford, and afterwards created Earl of Banbury. She was daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk. Her eccentric conduct in concealing the births of her two sons by

"Y^r^ L^ops^
"&c., &c.
"D. C.

"Hagh, 9th of June,
1623."[2]

End. "To G'rall. Cecyll, the 9 of June,
1623, by Davison."

Lord Banbury was the eventual cause of the earldom of Banbury falling into abeyance. General Sir Wm. Knollys unsuccessfully preferred his claim to this title in 1808–13.

[1] The Queen of Bohemia.

[2] Copy of letter from Carleton to Cecil.—*S. P. Holland.*

SIR E. CECIL TO SIR D. CARLETON.

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,

"I am to give y^r^ lo. many thanekes for the dispensatione it pleased y^r^ lo. to procure mee from his Ex., and I hope it is fallene oute at a very fitt tyme, when littell is to be done, for that much of the tyme is now spent that must be to be imployed in seages. . . . I hope God will so assist our great Captayne that wee shall not loose [lose] the Contrie by Howle salle [wholesale]. But I doe imagine the lesse the[y] doe this yeare the more the[y] will doe the neaxte yeare, for the longer an enime is in preparing he is to be feared so much the more.

"I shall not neede to advertis y^r^ lo. from heance, for that y^r^ lo. hath the returne of y^r^ beaste [best] friend and soliceture, [and] that ther is littell unknowne to her heare that is worthy of y^r^ lo. knowledge; and she can not chuse (*sic*), for she hath beeyn so much made one [on], and so much honored of all, both great and littell, that what she desiered was in her power to knowe, for by her curtisie and good fatione she hath altered my lo. Thesaurers [Lord Treasurer's] flinty dispositione in affablenes, and redy pamente. For pore men as myselfe, she hath nether givene us occatione or leave to do her any servis, for w^ch^ I am sory, for that I reast still in deabte, not able any way to requitte the least of y^r^ lo. and my la. [Lady Carleton] favors. But I hope I shall be happier for the tyme to come, when it shall please God to see y^r^ lo. heare, and at wimbleton, w^ch^ plase I hope shall not displease y^o^. And so wishing y^r^ lo. as much happines as y^r^ harte can desier, I reast,

"y^r^ lo. most affectionat servant
"to be commanded,
"ED. CECYLL.

"From my house at wimbleton,
this 10 of September."[1]

End. "From Generall Cecyll the
10 of September, 1623."

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[1] *S. P. Holland*, 1623.

On August 3, Sir Edward Cecil's second daughter, Albinia, was married at St. Mary's Church, Wimbledon, to Mr. Christopher Wray,[1] eldest son of Sir Wm. Wray, first Bart. of Glentworth, Lincolnshire (only son of Sir Christopher Wray, Lord Chief Justice of England, 1574–1592), by his second wife, Frances Drury, sister and co-heir with her sisters, Elizabeth, Countess of Exeter, and Diana, wife of Sir E. Cecil, to Sir Robert Drury, of Hawsted, Suffolk, Knt. Albinia Cecil was given away at the altar by her father,[2] who was then residing at Wimbledon House with his family.

The first thing Prince Maurice did on taking the field in August was to order the ways along the Veluwe to be made twenty feet broad, from Yssell to Hattem,[3] that troops, waggons, and cannon might march easily if the enemy should attempt to pass over the Yssel into the Veluwe, but they durst not adventure anything that summer.[4]

An amusing account is given of the conduct of an English knight, who came to learn soldiering under the Prince of Orange this summer, in a letter from John Sackville to Sir Dudley Carleton. This knight, Sir Anthony Hinton, was introduced by General Vere to the Prince of Orange, who saluted him, and said, "Parlez vous Français, Monsieur?" Hinton answered, "No, by God's blood, no more than you do English, and therefore you may spare your compliments!" Sackville goes on to relate a few more eccentricities of this "gentleman" volunteer.

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[1] For an account of this gentleman, who was knighted by James I. at Theobalds, in November, 1623, see last chapter in this volume.

[2] "1623. Christopher Wraye, Esq^{r}, and Albinia, his wife, were married 3^{d} August. She was given in marriage by her Honble. Father, Sir Edward Cecil, Kt., and son to the right honble. Earl of Exeter."—*Registers*, St. Mary's Church, Wimbledon.

[3] A village near Zwolle.

[4] Crosse, p. 1466.

"He is come here almost like the seven sons of Amon [Ammon], for he and his four men have but one horse. He hath his men in good living, and for himself he hath eighteen suits of apparell, but fewer and worse would serve him, for he appears nowhere but in tap-houses; instead of visiting and waiting on Count Harry, he goes into a sutler's, and there drinckes drunck. He has never been sober since he came here. Last night going to the Count I found him lying druncke on a form in a tap-house, and for all this his good fellowship, he is miserable, for he cryes, 'thy pott and myne,' and will not pay a stiver more. I thank God I never did [such a thing]. Wee will send him back to Arnhem, and they were best send him to England."[1]

The following letter shows General Cecil did not forget his profession in his retreat at Wimbledon :—

SIR E. CECIL TO SIR EDWARD CONWAY.[2]

"SIR,

"Having beeyne of latte a mong my fellow deputies liftenants of Surry, a boute our musters, I fiend moste of them will not oute of the owlde beatane waye, that is upon a muster the[y] will say as the[y] have sayd many yeares to gether, bring better Armes, and the neaxte tyme the same thinge, wthoute telling them the[y] must make them of this fation or of that, for there is noe pattone; so that if y^{o} meane to have better armes, there muste be a patonne, and then the depute lifetenants will understand what armes, where now nether the lifetenants nor the souldires doe know how to meande there Armes wthoute the pattone, w^{ch} is very necessary. The reasone whie I have wryte these lines is to second y^{r} owne Noble worke, w^{ch} is to bringe this Kindome in to a true disepline—a worke so necessary and profitable, that it will be more to y^r^ honor, till it will make it perpetuall, and showe the world that there was never till now a professed souldier at that borde, to w^ch^ honor I shall be carefull in what I am able to assiste w^th^ my beaste servis. And so not having more to truble y^r^ many busines, but only w^th^ my humble servis, I reast

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[1] John Sackville to Carleton, from the camp near Rees, Sept. 15, 1623.—*S. P. Holland*. There was a Captain Sackville in General Cecil's regiment, who may have been the writer of above letter?

[2] Sir Edward Conway had lately been appointed one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

"Y^rs^

"to be commanded,

"ED. CECYLL.

"this S^t^ Stivene day,
from Wimbleton."

Add. "To the Rig. honorable, and his Noble friend, S^r^ Ed. Conwaye, Knight, Secritary of Statt, and one of his Ma^ies^ moste honorable previ counselle."

End. "Decemb. 26, 1623,
S^r^ Edward Cecill
Concerninge Armes."

CHAPTER II.

1624–1625.

Breach with Spain—The new Parliament—Sir E. Cecil elected one of the barons for Dover—Startling news from Holland—The Dover election petition—Cecil is unseated, but regains his seat—He is appointed member of the Council of War—Arrival of Count Mansfeld in London—His bargain with James—French marriage treaty—Impeachment of the Earl of Middlesex—Parliament grants the King a large subsidy—Four new English regiments sent to the Low Countries—Cecil goes over—Spinola prepares to invest Breda—The Prince of Orange attempts to surprise Antwerp—Failure of the enterprise—He divides his army into two divisions—Death of the Earl of Southampton and Lord Wriothesley—Illness of the Prince of Orange—He retires to the Hague—Cecil's command at Waelwick—His account of that place—Negotiations with France—Richelieu's triumphant policy—The story of Mansfeld's ill-fated expedition.

AFTER the Prince of Wales's return from Spain a new era may be said to have commenced in England. Everything was now anti-Spanish. A violent reaction had set in. The nation, Court, and the Parliament, which had been summoned to meet in February, were all opposed to the Spanish match and Spanish interests.

"Since my dear brother's return into England," wrote the Queen of Bohemia to her trusted friend Sir Thomas Roe, "all is changed from being Spanish, in which I assure you that Buckingham[1] doth most nobly and faithfully for me. Worthy Southampton is much in favour, and all that are not Spanish."[2]

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[1] It is asserted by Nani, and all the Roman Catholic historians, that the King of Bohemia offered to Buckingham to unite their families by the intermarriage of their children. See Miss Benger's *Life of the Queen of Bohemia*, ii., p. 212, note.

[2] *Roe Correspondence.*

The two exceptions to this almost universal feeling against Spain were James and his upright ambassador, the Earl of Bristol. The old King could not suddenly renounce the dream of a lifetime without many a bitter pang and sinking at heart. His minister was of too upright and noble a character not to see that after all that had been said, done, and ratified, the Spanish match could not suddenly be broken off by Great Britain without much loss of honour to King James and his son. "James knew he should be disvalued, to the wounding of all good opinion, if he did not engraft that alliance into his stem, which he had sought with so much expense of time and cost to strengthen and aggrandize his posterity," wrote a seventeenth century biographer. "And he knew," continues the same writer, "he should lose honour with all the potentates of Europe, beside other mischiefs, if nothing were done for repossessing the Palatinate."[1]

The old King was not strong enough, morally or physically, to withstand the strong current that had now set in. He was carried along with the stream, and was a mere puppet in the hands of Buckingham, who had virtually seized, from the uncertain grasp of the poor monarch, the rudder lines which had become so inextricably twisted. Bristol was recalled from Spain, and Parliament was summoned to make all due preparations for the storm that seemed likely to burst over England at any moment.

In this Parliament, the last of this reign, Sir Edward Cecil was returned as member for Dover, in conjunction with Sir Richard Young. These two members were nominated by Lord Zouch, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. It was customary for the Lord Warden at this period, and for long after, to assume the right of nominating, as a matter of course, one (and occasionally both) of the representatives of the ports.[1] This assumption, as may be supposed, was often productive of much ill-feeling, and, in the case of Lord Zouch's nominees for Dover, there was, as we shall presently see, some difficulty in carrying their election and in establishing their right to sit in Parliament.

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[1] Hacket, ii. p. 167.

Parliament had been summoned to meet on February 12, but was put off till the 16th, and then, by reason of the Duke of Richmond's sudden death, till the 19th. The King opened Parliament in person.

> "He made a very gracious and plausible speech," wrote a contemporary letter writer, "confessed he had been deluded in the treaty of the match; but referring it now wholly to their consideration whether it should go forward or no, according as they should see cause upon the Prince's and Duke of Buckingham's relation."[2]
>
> "Buckingham delivered to a committee of Lords and Commons a long narrative," says a modern historian, "which he pretended to be true and complete of every step taken in the negotiations with Philip; but partly by the suppression of some facts, partly by the false colouring laid on others, this narrative was calculated entirely to mislead the parliament, and to throw on the court of Spain the reproach of artifice and insincerity. The Prince of Wales, who was present, vouched for its truth, and the king himself lent it, indirectly, his authority, by telling the parliament that it was by his orders Buckingham laid the whole affair before them. . . . The narrative concurred so well with the passions and prejudices of the parliament that no scruple was made of immediately adopting it; and they immediately advised the king to break off both treaties with Spain, as well that which regarded the marriage as that for the restitution of the Palatinate."[3]

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[1] Oldfield's *Representative Hist. of Great Britain*, v. p. 355.

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, Feb. 22, 1624.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] Philip IV., being determined to throw the blame of the rupture entirely on the English, delivered into Bristol's hand a written promise, by which he

A few days after the meeting of Parliament, Sir Edward Cecil was sent to request the King to have a fast for the happy deliverance of the Prince.[1] Public rejoicings, bonfires, and anti-Spanish demonstrations, proclaimed the feelings of the good citizens of London when it became generally known that the treaty with Spain was broken off.

Whilst these events were taking place in England, an unusual occurrence had taken place in the Low Countries which aroused the United Provinces from their accustomed winter sleep. This occurrence was nothing less than the sudden appearance on the Dutch frontier of Count Henry Van den Berg with a large force at his back.

> "We have had here a winter war," wrote Sir Dudley Carleton to one of his English correspondents, "not much unlike our English boys' play of bidding of base, for Count Henry Vandenberg having crossed the Yssell into the Veluwe, he retired to his passage and then stopt. When his Excellency understood of his making a halt, he stayed likewise without going further. So as they did one another no great harm." [2]

The crossing of the Yssel by the enemy caused much consternation throughout the States, and the fear of the consequences reached even to London, where Sir Horace Vere, Sir Edward Cecil, and other officers who held commands in the States' army were then residing. We find Vere and Cecil both writing to Sir D. Carleton on receipt of the unwelcome news,[3] and expressing their readiness to come over if necessary.

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bound himself to procure the restoration of the Palatine, either by persuasion, or by every other possible means.—*Hume.*

[1] Jas. Millington to his brother, February 27.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] Carleton to Chamberlain, February 24.—*Court and Times.*

[3] Horace Vere to Carleton, February 20.—*S. P. Dom.* It seems that Van den Berg, with 7,000 foot and 35 troops of horse, marched to the close vicinity of a place where the King and Queen of Bohemia were then visiting,

SIR E. CECIL TO SIR D. CARLETON.

"MY VERY GOOD [LORD],

"Y^{r} lo., y^{e} can not imagine what comforte y^{r} lo. letter hathe givene to many honest well wishers to the cause of the lowe countries and espetially to my selfe, whoe before by the generall repare, w^{ch} was more fearefully delivred then the truthe was. For the w^{ch} favore and comforte I am to give y^{r} lo. most humble thanckes. I fiend as y^{r} lo. did expect that this wholle Kindome dothe take a great alarome at this accedente, and espetially our Parlemente, and I hope that this ill accedente will turne to our good (by God's favore), in the same kind as the Prince's goinge into Spane, w^{ch} was so terrible to us at the begining . . . . upone the generall reporte I was redy to have comde over, had there beeyne a shipe redy, thoughe I have many extrordinary busines to have hindered mee ; beside my being of the Parlemente, where I hope wee shall doe her M^{tie} now servis, or never, for his Ma^{tie} hath given us as muche leave and freedome as wee can possibly desier, so that if wee have beeyne free in times of lese liberty, and in tymes that was so much our enimes, y^{e} may please to letter [let her ?] her Ma^{ty} know that we will not be negligente in these tymes to stricke harde, now that the Iorne is so hotte, and although his Ma^{ty} dothe give us leave to advise him conserning the busines of Spane & the Mariadge, yet wee will first begine wth the setting religione in to his Joynts, that hath beeyne put oute of Joynte by this Spanishe treaty, and in that designe wee will give his Ma^{ty} our beaste advise, for that is that w^{ch} muste sett all busines righte, for that the Spaniard did us all the harme by advansing his Religion so far as he did, w^{ch} gave his spite (*sic*) heare so muche credit, as hath cast us so farr behinde. I will be noe longer, but to remember my humble deuty to the Queene, and my truble servis to y^{r} Noble lady, and reast y^{r} lo.,

"most affectionat to be commanded,

"ED. CECYLL.

"London, this 21
of february."

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and for a short time much anxiety was felt for the safety of these Royal persons.—Green's *Princesses of England*, v. p. 419.

[P.S.] "The comforte heare is that the nues commeth not so fast conserning this laste ill accedente."[1]

Add. "For y^r^ lor^p^."

End. "Prov. Unit. General Cecyll, the 21 of Feb^ry^, re^d^ the 28."

The Spanish invaders got as far as Ede, two miles from Arnhem, where they received intelligence which caused a general panic among the troops, and they hastily retraced their steps.[2] The sudden thawing of the ice on the Yssel also added to the enemy's alarm, and Van den Berg was obliged to recross the river and retire into winter quarters. So ended the winter campaign.

Returning to the Parliament now assembled at Westminster, we find from the *Journals of the House of Commons* that Edward Cecil was a prominent committee-man, and, as in the former session, he acted as one of the Privy Council of the House, as that prominent body of its members was termed. Early in this session we find Cecil moving for the breaking off of the Spanish match "which Spain never intended."[3] And in the debate on March 11, concerning the advisability of a war with Spain, Cecil said "he remembered the declaration made last Parliament, and moved that this declaration be now made good."[4] Sir Edward Coke spoke still more to the point. "England," said Coke, "never prospered so well as when she was at war with Spain. If Ireland were secured, the navy furnished, and the Low Countries assisted, they need not care for Pope, Turk, Spain, nor all the devils in hell."[5] The breach with Spain was widening rapidly.

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1624.

[2] Crosse, p. 1469.

[3] *Commons' Journals*, i. p. 675.

[4] *Commons' Journals*, i. p. 682.

[5] Dr. Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, v. pp. 194 5.

The day after the above debate a committee from the Commons (on which committee was Edward Cecil[1]) went to the House of Lords to hear the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Buckingham give their narratives of the negotiations with Spain, which have already been referred to. It was in consequence of the disclosures made by the Prince and Buckingham that the two Houses advised his Majesty to break with Spain, and agreed to give him three subsidies and three fifteenths, which was equivalent to £300,000. This sum, by the King's own proposition, was to be paid to a committee of Parliament, who were to act as treasurers, and only issue the money for the purposes intended. These purposes were, for the war likely to ensue with Spain on the breaking off of negotiations, and, more especially, for "the defence of the realm, the securing of Ireland, the assistance of the States of the United Provinces, and the setting forth of the Royal Navy."

The session was barely a month old when a petition from the electors of Dover was brought before the House of Commons praying for an investigation into the return of Sir Edward Cecil and Sir Richard Young, knights, for the town and port of Dover, in this present Parliament. The Committee of Privileges found that these knights had carried themselves fairly;[2] but "it was resolved upon question that the freemen and free burgesses, inhabitants of Dover, ought to have voice in the election of their barons[3] to serve in Parliament."[4] It was also "resolved upon a second question that the election of Sir E. Cecil and Sir R. Young is void, and that a new warrant shall go out for a new choice with expedition, and that these men may be chosen again if they so please."[1] Both Cecil and Young were extremely indignant at being thus summarily turned out of Parliament, and both wrote to Lord Zouch, ascribing the petition against them to proceed from the malice of Sir Henry Mainwaring, who had apparently been a rival candidate for the seat. Cecil's letter is short and incisive.

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[1] *Commons' Journals.*

[2] *Commons' Journals*, i. p. 748.

[3] "The representatives of the Cinque ports in Parliament," says Oldfield, "are to this day styled *barons*, because they were formerly, as they still ought to be, chosen from amongst the inhabitants at large."—*Rep. Hist. of Gt. Brit.*, v. p. 352.

[4] *Commons' Journals*, as before.

SIR E. CECIL TO LORD ZOUCH.[2]

"MY VERY GOOD LORDE,

"As y^r lo. may understand by the Mallis of S^r He. Manering[3] to y^r lo. y^r tow Burgis ar[e] put out of the Howse, upon the generall opineone that the Howse hath givene, that there is noe Burges to be chosene w^th oute the choyse of the Commons by an Antiente lawe of Parlemente, and if this lawe were so generally followed, as it hath beeyne a gainste us there, there would be but fewe sitte in parlemente, yet a Blott is noe blotte till it be hitt, so now it is hitt, therefore if there be any meanes for us to recover the honour, I humble beseache y^r lo. to take it into y^r consideration, for that noe man is more y^r lo. humble servant then is

"ED. CECYLL.

"this 25, in great haste."

[P.S.] "I have receaved letters from the Prince of Orange to warne my Cap^nes to come over, and my selfe to be there the firste of Maye."[4]

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[1] *Commons' Journals*, as before.

[2] Edward, 11th Baron Zouch, Lord President of Wales, 44 Elizabeth; Constable of Dover Castle, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; died August, 1625.

[3] Captain Sir Henry Mainwaring had been Lieutenant of Dover Castle under Lord Zouch, but had been dismissed from that post for his many misdemeanours. He tried hard to get reappointed to his former post, and did all in his power to thwart Lord Zouch, and to injure him in the eyes of the Prince of Wales, who espoused Mainwaring's cause. Mainwaring and Sir Thomas Wilsford stood for Dover, and opposed the re-election of Cecil and Young, but unsuccessfully. See calendar of *S. P. Dom.* 1624, pp. 100–9; 113–19; 198; 200, 201.

[4] March 25, 1624.—*S. P. Dom.*

Add.—"To the Rig. honorable and his very good lo. the Lord Zouch, lo. warden of the Senke Ports, and one of his Ma^ies moste honorable prive Counsell."

End.—"Fr^m Gen^rall Cecill, 25 of mch., to L^d Zouch, acquainting [him] how 2 Burgesses are put out of Parl^t upon their opinion that the[y] ought to be chosen by the Comon people."

Sir R. Young wrote in a very hopeful strain to Lord Zouch, seeming certain of his and Cecil's re-election for Dover. He informed the Lord Warden of the Parliamentary order touching the late election at Dover, and declared his intention of having this order read at the coming election, to show "that there is no exception taken, but rather an implied approbation of our persons, with some tacit intimation that the freemen do choose us again." [1]

It was a common occurrence, even at this early period, for members to be turned out of Parliament for some election flaw,[2] but Sir Edward Cecil and Sir Richard Young are two rare examples of members who, having been unseated for a flaw in their election, were re-elected for the same borough almost immediately afterwards. On April 7 we find Edward Cecil back in Parliament, and his name appears on the select committee appointed to confer with the Lords that day about the important Bill against Monopolies.[3] Advantage was taken of the King's enforced passiveness to pass an Act against Monopolies, and the Parliamentary axe was employed against several crying abuses which had taken deep root in the English soil. One of the most glaring of these abuses was the extortionate charge made by the heralds on the creation of noblemen,[1] baronets, &c. Edward Cecil was one of the committee appointed to enquire into and report on this grievance.[2] But more important work was in store for Cecil. On April 21 he was appointed one of the Council of War,[3] which consisted of ten members, all of whom had considerable experience in the art of war, viz.: Oliver Lord Grandison, Lord Deputy of Ireland; George Lord Carew, Master of the Ordnance; Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke; Arthur Lord Chichester, Sir Edward Conway, Sir Horace Vere, Sir Edward Cecil, Sir John Ogle, Sir Thomas Button, and Sir Robert Mansell.[4]

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[1] Young to Zouch, March 29, 1624.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] Sir George Chaworth, M.P. for Arundel, was turned out of Parliament, on March 25 in this year, for a flaw in his election. Nethersole to Carleton, March 25, 1624.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] *Commons' Journals*, i. p. 757.

In the warlike temper of the Court, both Houses of Parliament, and the nation in general, the Council of War was a most important body. The members of this Council were constituted treasurers of the three entire subsidies and three fifteenths paid by the laity. No money was to be issued out by the treasurers without a warrant from the War Council, nor upon any other account but for the war.[5] So far no war had been declared by Great Britain, but there seemed to be a widespread belief that a war with Spain was unavoidable. This belief was greatly strengthened by the arrival in London, on April 14, of that warlike adventurer—Ernest, Count of Mansfeld.

Mansfeld was in want of a job. The Dutch had sickened of him, the Germans would have none of him, and the French only wanted his services in the hopes that he might act as a decoy duck, and draw English troops to fight

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[1] In the *Egerton Papers* (Camden Soc. Pub.) it is stated that Lord Chancellor Sir Thomas Egerton had to pay £84 in fees on his being created a viscount in Nov. 1616 (p. 480).

[2] *Commons' Journals*, i. p. 777.

[3] Warrant, April 21, 1624.—*S. P. Dom.*

[4] Vice-Admiral of England.

[5] Rapin, II., book xxiii. p. 231.

French battles against a common Spanish foe. Like a very carrion crow, the modern Attila was attracted to England by the smell of coming carnage. His welcome was all that he could desire. Lodged in St. James's Palace, waited on by lords and courtiers, worshipped by a London mob who received him with acclamations whenever he appeared in the streets, and struggled to get near him that they might touch his clothes—he was the hero of the hour—the Garibaldi of that time. It was but twelve months since this great general had devastated the smiling province of East Friesland, and allowed his officers and lawless troops to commit the most dreadful and unheard of atrocities on peaceful citizens, on unoffending women, and innocent children. But a year had elapsed since this same general had demanded in marriage the daughter of the Count of East Friesland, whose territory was then being devastated, and had offered as a bribe, that if the Count would give him his daughter, the Mansfeldian army should be at his disposal; "yea, though it were to serve therewithall the Emperor or the King of Spain."[1] The Count of East Friesland wisely declined to give his daughter in marriage to Mansfeld, or accept the offer of his army, "which whether it was meant in earnest or as a tentative only," continues the narrator of this historical fact, "is hard to judge of a man of such variable disposition, who changeth with every wind, and hath every day new projects."[2] The opinion entertained by the King's ambassador at the Hague as to Mansfeld's character was not entertained by Buckingham, or the Prince of Wales, who were guiding the old King in a direction the very opposite to the one he would have taken if left to his own devices. Mansfeld was taken to see James, and he unfolded his plans for the recovery of the Palatinate. A bargain was concluded between them, by which James promised to furnish troops and money, provided that the King of France, with whom he was in treaty, would supply Mansfeld with a similar force. The treaty now on foot between Great Britain and France was for the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess Henrietta Maria, youngest sister of Louis XIII. of France. Henry Rich, Viscount Kensington,[1] had been secretly despatched to Paris, early in the year 1624, to open negotiations with the French Court and Cardinal Richelieu relative to this proposed marriage.

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[1] Sir D. Carleton to Calvert, February 24, 1623.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] *Ibid.* The same writer says in a letter to Chamberlain a few months later, "Mansfelt plays the juggler with all the world, offering his services to all, threatening one and another to get money." July 11, 1623.—*S. P. Holland.*

> "It was the gravity of refusing such an offer, the difficulties attending and the wariness requisite on accepting it," writes a modern historian, "that had chiefly necessitated the admission of Richelieu to the Council. He was decidedly for the marriage, and for accompanying it with stipulations in favour of the English Catholics, less for their sake than to save appearances with the Pope and his party. Such an argument was indeed necessary in order to procure the dispensation from Rome. Whilst he sent Father Bruille thither on this errand, Richelieu arranged a treaty with England for aiding the Dutch, then sorely oppressed by Spinola. Before Richelieu entered the Council, Mansfeldt had no hope of inducing the French Court to aid him. No sooner did that event take place than negotiations commenced with the Dutch, and Mansfeldt was summoned to the vicinity of Paris. The Cardinal indeed proposed hard terms . . . . but he agreed in June to give them [the Dutch] two and a half millions of francs, whilst Mansfeldt was to bring an army from England for their succour and the relief of the Palatinate."[2]

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[1] Sir Henry Rich, K.B., created Viscount Kensington in 1622, and Earl of Holland in September, 1624. He married the daughter and heir of Sir Walter Cope, of Kensington, and acquired the manor of Kensington, now known as Holland House.

[2] Crow's *History of France*, iii. p. 447.

Leaving the astute and wily Richelieu to his schemes for advancing the welfare of France, by overreaching and out-manœuvring the English and Dutch nations, we must return once more to the English Parliament at Westminster, which was near its dissolution.

The Duke of Buckingham had no sooner established his credit with both Houses of Parliament by his one-sided story of the King of Spain's perfidy regarding the marriage treaty, than he proceeded, with the Prince of Wales's help, to undermine and cast down from their high estate the Earls of Middlesex and Bristol. The former, who was Lord High Treasurer of England, owed his rapid rise in life to Buckingham, whose kinswoman he had married. As a leading Privy Councillor, Middlesex had strongly opposed a war with Spain, and from first to last had been an advocate for the Spanish match. As a friend to Spain, the Lord Treasurer had incurred the ill-will of both Charles and the Duke, and it is said that, during their absence in Spain, the Lord Treasurer was not only negligent in disbursing the large sums demanded by the Duke for his and the Prince's unlimited expenses, but had the courage to dispute Buckingham's commands, and to appeal to the King, whose ear was always inclined to him.[1] By means of his own party in the House of Commons, Buckingham easily procured some of the leading members in the Lower House to cause an impeachment for several corrupt practices and misdemeanours to be sent up to the House of Lords. The result is well known. Impeached and found guilty, despite a brave defence and the efforts of the King in his behalf (who begged the Prince and Buckingham with prophetic wisdom to use their interest with both Houses to withdraw the impeachment), the haughty earl received this severe sentence at the hands of his peers:—

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[1] Clarendon's *Hist. of the Rebellion*, i. p. 22.

> "Thou, Lionel, Earl of Middlesex, shalt never sit or have a voice more in this House of Peers, and shalt pay for a fine to our sovereign lord the King £20,000."[1]

It was no easy matter to bring home any charge against the Earl of Bristol, who had both truth and law on his side, but Buckingham, by false representations, induced the King to refuse to see him on his return from Spain, and he was ordered to retire to his house at Sherborne, and stay there until his Majesty's further pleasure should be made known to him. Having thus effectually silenced one enemy and banished the other from Court, Buckingham was able to pursue the crooked and dangerous policy which his wayward and arbitrary spirit at this time inclined him to.

Sir Edward Cecil's duties as one of the Council of War doubtless prevented his frequent attendance in Parliament during the last six weeks of the session. His name only occurs on one of the Parliamentary Committees appointed during May, and that was on the committee of May 12, for drawing up an "Act against the secret receiving of pensions and gifts."[2]

Parliament was prorogued on May 29 until Nov. 2:—

> "Our Parliament ended on Saturday with the passing of three or four and thirty acts, tho' divers were stopped that were much desired," wrote a chronicler of the times. "The parting were with no more contentment than needed on either side. The King spared them not a bit for undertaking more than belonged to them

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[1] Weldon's *Court and Character of James I.*, in Francis Osborne's *Memoirs*, i. p. 453. The Lord Treasurer was at first fined £50,000, deprived of all his offices, and ordered to be imprisoned in the Tower.—*Lords' Journals*, iii. p. 383.

[2] *Commons' Journals*, i. p. 787.

in many matters; and for answer to their grievances, which were presented in two very long and tedious scrolls, he said that having perused them he thanked God with all his heart they were no worse."[1]

The subsidy granted by Parliament was enough to have sent an army of 25,000 men to the Palatinate under an English general, but the Court thought fit only to send 6,000 men to Holland to assist the States. The following extract shows that even this small levy of troops was against the King's inclination:—

> "Here is much canvassing about the making of captains and colonels for these new forces that are to be raised to assist the Low Countries. Sunday last was appointed, and then put off till Tuesday, when they, flocking to Theobalds with great expectation, the king would not vouchsafe to see any of them, nor once look out of his chamber till they were all gone. But word was sent they should know his pleasure twixt this and Sunday. The prime competitors are the Earls of Oxford, Essex, and Southampton. The fourth place rests between the Lord Willoughby, the Earl Morton, a Scottishman, and Sir John Borlase. It hath seldom been seen that men of that rank, and privy councillors, should hunt after such mean places, in respect of the countenance our ancient nobility was wont to carry. But it is answered they do it to raise the companies of voluntaries by their credit, which I doubt will hardly stretch to furnish 6,000 men without pressing; for our people apprehend too much the hardships and miseries of soldiers in these times."[2]

Four regiments of 1,500 men each were raised by the middle of July and despatched to Holland, where they arrived on July 23.[3] These regiments were commanded respectively by the Earls of Oxford, Essex, Southampton, and the

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[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, June 5.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Carleton to Secretary Conway, July 23.—*S. P. Holland.*

Lord Willoughby.[1] Previous to the departure of these noblemen from England, there had been great contention between the Earls of Oxford and Southampton as to precedence. The contention was so hot between them that the King had to interpose his authority and settle the disputed question. On the arrival of the new English troops in Holland, a fresh dispute broke out between the Earl of Essex and Lord Willoughby as to precedence. This quarrel was decided by Sir Horace Vere and Sir Edward Cecil, who were appointed arbitrators.[2]

General Cecil appears to have gone over to the Low Countries to join his regiment, which was about to take the field under Maurice of Nassau, on June 7. He travelled in style, as he took six horses with him,[3] which was no small number, even for a general. A great outward, if not inward, change had taken place in the King of Great Britain's feelings for his unfortunate son-in-law, Frederick, since Edward Cecil's last visit to the Low Countries. Then, Frederick was almost universally styled "the Prince Elector," and to publicly pray for him as being "desolate and oppressed" was a crime of no small magnitude in the stern father-in-law's eyes. Now, all was changed, and we find an authorised form of prayer publicly used for the King and Queen of Bohemia and their affairs, the Lord General (Vere), the Earls of Oxford and Essex, and the English commanders and troops, at the services held by the English troops in Holland—such prayer being used after that for his Majesty King James.[1]

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[1] Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, created Earl of Lindsey 1626, and slain at Edgehill, 1642.

[2] Carleton to Conway, August 21.—*S. P. Holland.* In this letter Carleton refers to "the good understanding between the two generals (Vere and Cecil) ever since their quarrel was made up, and their line of action settled by authority." The judgment of Generals Vere and Cecil on the question of precedence between the Earl of Essex and Lord Willoughby is given in *S. P. Dom.* 1624, clxxx. No. 92.

[3] Warrant dated from Greenwich, June 7, 1624.—Docquet, *S. P. Dom.*

The old adage, that "it is an ill wind that blows no one any good," was amply verified in the case of the Dutch when the rupture between Great Britain and Spain took place. The States sent ambassadors to London, in February, 1624, who carried with them secret despatches to the heads of the war party in England. How successful this mission was has already been shown by the despatch of 6,000 British troops to the aid of the United Provinces in their struggle against Spain. The British contingent arrived at an opportune moment, as Spinola had opened the summer campaign by an attack on Breda.

Breda was a town of triangular form in Dutch Brabant, about three miles in circumference, and situated on the rivers Aa and Merk, by means of which rivers the whole surrounding country could be laid under water. Its fortifications had been rendered strong by art, and it was also protected by the streams, woods, and morasses with which it was environed.[2] Spinola encamped about two leagues from Breda, in the middle of July, with an army of 24,000 foot and 3,000 cavalry.[3] It is said that this able commander foresaw the great difficulties he would have to encounter in besieging so strong a fortress, the blood that would be shed, and the time that would be expended before Breda could be reduced. He accordingly sent a despatch to Philip IV. laying all these facts before him, and suggested that the army under his command might be more profitably employed in some other enterprise. Philip, imbued with the highest ideas of the irresistibility of Spanish arms, returned this laconic response to Spinola's representations:—"Marquis, take Breda; I, the King."[1]

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* Jas. I. July (?), 1624, clxx. 88.

[2] Dunlop's *Memoirs of Spain*, i. p. 115.

[3] *Ibid.*

The Prince of Orange looked upon Breda in much the same light that our Queen Mary regarded Calais. Breda was associated with his earliest years and first exploits in warfare; moreover it was the ancient home of his forefathers, and honour alone demanded that it should not fall into the hands of the enemy. As soon as it became apparent that Spinola was about to besiege this strongly fortified place, Maurice reinforced the garrison, consisting of 1,600 men under the veteran Justin of Nassau, with 6,000 English and French troops, commanded by Sir Charles Morgan and Colonel Hauterive.[2] Owing to the marshy nature of the ground and the difficulty of supplying his large army with provisions, Spinola made slow progress with his intrenchments, and this is said to have given Prince Maurice a feeling of false security and a mistaken idea of his enemy's ability.[3] This mistaken impression can alone account for the Prince's march to the Rhine, and his besieging such unimportant places as Gennep and Cleves, "giving Spinola time," says a narrator of these events, "to complete very nearly a double line of circumvallation about Breda."[4] After the surrender of Cleves the States' army marched to Made,[5] a small town close to Gertruydenberg and within two hours' march of Breda. The two armies now lay facing each other, and a battle might have saved Breda, as Spinola was short of cavalry, but both commanders were disposed to act on the defensive and not on the offensive, added to which both were engrossed with great designs of their own planning. Spinola's one idea was to reduce Breda, and Maurice had determined to make a sudden dash for Antwerp. This important city was ill-prepared for a surprise such as Maurice had planned in his fertile brain, and in imagination the Prince saw himself in possession of a fortress which was of more importance even than his beloved Breda. This great design was planned with the greatest secrecy, and even those who were chosen to execute it were kept in ignorance of their destination. General Broucham, governor of Bergen-op-zoom, had charge of this exploit, and he marched out of Bergen at the head of 1,000 foot and 200 horse, with a good store of waggons and "many portable instruments fit for such a business."[1] After leaving the town the men were commanded to pluck off their orange scarves, and they were furnished with red ones, so that they might be taken for Spanish soldiers. They arrived before Antwerp Castle on a very obscure night, having deceived all the people they had met on the road. Everything so far had favoured their design, but a mere trifling accident made their presence known to the garrison just as the Dutch troops were fastening their scaling ladders to the castle wall. This accident is quaintly narrated in a contemporary war tract:—

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[1] Dunlop's *Memoirs of Spain*, i. p. 115.

[2] Davies' *Holland*, ii. p. 555.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] On October 1, the Prince of Orange marched by Raensdouch over the bridge before Gertruydenberg to Made, with 176 foot companies, 28 troops of horse, and 72 pieces of ordnance. The English regiments of Vere, Cecil, Morgan, Harwood, Lords Oxford, Essex, Southampton and Willoughby accompanied him.—*S. P. Holland.*

> "Wee have received from severall places tydings how that our enterprise upon the Castle of Antwerps took no effect by reason of a horse of our men, which made such a great noyse that a sentinell of the Castle looked thereupon over the walls of it and discovered our men which came about it. The Drost of Borchem who was the chiefe conductor of this enterprise marched on the

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[1] Crosse, p. 1491.

twelf day of this moneth of October, about foure of the clocke very early in the morning out of the town of Bergen-up-Zoome, with a thousand foote and foure troopes of horse and came about eleven of the clock in the night time before the Castle, and had before twelve of the clock laid some of their floates or bridges on the water which runneth about the Castle, fastened some Petards, and erected severall ladders against the walls, and were likely to speed well if they had not been discovered by the meanes of the afore-mentioned horse."[1]

The States' army did not remain passive spectators of the operations which Spinola was employed on before Breda, but they had arrived on the ground too late to break through the iron chain which Spinola had drawn round the beleaguered town. At least Maurice of Nassau, "the man of the pick-axe and spade," thought so, and he contented himself with harassing the enemy and waylaying the convoys of provisions. The Spanish army had a hot time of it, as the Breda garrison made frequent sallies, and the States' troops assisted their besieged friends in retarding the progress of the outworks by firing on the troops employed in raising them. Provisions were still plentiful in Breda, but very scarce in the Spanish camp, added to which a great part of the country round about Breda was flooded, and in consequence of this the mortality in both the States' and Spanish camps was very great.

"The horse [soldiers] which came with the last convoy to Spinola's camp were not able to ride upon their horses," wrote a chronicler of the siege, "seeing they went deep in the mire, but were compelled to go afoote and lead them by the bridle. And they report, moreover, that the Marquesse Spinola hearing that the Prince of Orange hath given order to some commanders to meet with his convoy, had given directions that no convoy should any more go or come without 8,000 foote, 2,000 horse, and some pieces of ordnance. But the way is growne so deep (as they say) that the horse go in some places unto their bellies in the water [so] that they will hardly be able to march."[1]

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[1] *A Continuition of all the Principall Occurrences which hath happened to the Leaguers lying before Breda, &c.*, 1625, 4°, p. 13.

The complete failure of Prince Maurice's cherished plan for surprising Antwerp struck deeply to his heart. Finding his position at Made untenable, and not being able to break the cordon round Breda, he divided his army into two divisions and made a sudden retreat. This movement was well timed, as Spinola, having increased his forces, was just about to make an unexpected raid on the Dutch camp.

> "On Tuesday last, the 12th October [old style], at 9 o'night, his Excellency gave orders for marching at 3 in the morning," wrote the English ambassador at the Hague to his friend Sir Edward Conway at Court. "His Excellency went one way to Rozendale (as is thought), Count Henry [of Nassau] another to Waldwick in the Longstraat, from which places they may meet with the enemie's convoyes. Our English are divided between both. The Earls of Southampton and Essex, General Vere and Colonel Harwood going with his Excellency. With Count Henry, the Earl of Oxford and Lord Willoughby, General Cecyll and Sr John Proude, Lt. Colonel to Sr C. Morgan." [2]

The summer and autumn of 1624 were remarkably unhealthy in the Netherlands. A pestilence, originated by the desolate condition of the Palatinate, had slowly travelled down the Rhine, and now made fearful ravages.[3] The contagion spread rapidly, and the British troops suffered severely. The plague spared neither high nor low, and two of the earliest victims were the gallant Earl of Southampton [4] and his eldest son, Lord Wriothesley. The son died at the camp at Rosendale, and the father four days later at Bergen-op-zoom.[1] There was something peculiarly sad in this double catastrophe, and it is not surprising to read of the widowed Lady Southampton's "passionate carriage" on the receipt of the grievous intelligence. "The Countess of Southampton deeply mourns her husband and son, and has been prayed for at her own request in divers churches,"[2] wrote the Master of the Ceremonies at Court to Sir Dudley Carleton. And another writer tells us how the widowed Duchess of Richmond, who had lost her noble lord early in this year, and who had shown her passionate grief by cutting off all her hair the day he died,[3] on being told of Lady Southampton's inordinate grief, used this argument to prove that her own grief was greater than Lady Southampton's, "for," quoth she, "I blasphemed."[4]

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[1] *A Continuition of all the Principall Occurrences which hath happened to the Leaguers lying before Breda, &c.*, 1625, 4°, p. 12.

[2] Carleton to Secretary Conway, Oct. $\frac{15}{25}$.—*S. P. Holland.*

[3] Green's *Princesses of England*, v. p. 428.

[4] Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton, K.G., and Captain of the

The unhealthiness of the season, combined with disappointment and anxiety as to the fate of Breda, had wrought their injurious influences on the constitution of the gallant Maurice of Nassau, and every day he got weaker. "Prince Maurice is sick and crasie and not like to last long," wrote our Ambassador to his correspondent in England.[5] His weakness of body was only too apparent, and soon after the retreat to Rosendale, Maurice gave over the command of the army there to his cousin, Count Ernest of Nassau, and retired to the Hague to recruit his health.

Sir Edward Cecil in the meantime had the important command of General of the British troops at Waelwick,[6]

Isle of Wight. His wife was daughter of John Vernon, Esq., of Hodnet, co. Derby, by Elizabeth, sister of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex.

[1] Carleton to Chamberlain Oct $\frac{16}{26}$.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] Sir John Finet to Carleton, Dec. 24.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] Chamberlain to Carleton, Feb. 22.—*S. P. Dom.*

[4] Chamberlain to Carleton, Dec. 18.—*S. P. Dom.*

[5] Carleton to Chamberlain, Oct $\frac{16}{26}$.—*S. P. Holland.*

[6] Cecil to Buckingham, March 15, 1626.—*S. P. Dom.*

a village of Brabant, ten miles east from Breda. The miseries of a winter encampment at that place, when the country all round was "drowned," are graphically described in one of Cecil's letters.

SIR E. CECIL TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"This gentleman, Sir George Blundel, hath now quitted the service of the States, for this especial reason (as he assures me) to be the more absolutely employed in your Ex^{cies} service. This I know, his friends here that love him (which are many) are very sorry to part with him, for there is no melancholy where he goes.[1] And, therefore, considering the condition of this place, we shall be great losers, being upon a melancholy place and service, ill-payed, sick of all diseases in the world, in a place that is next neighbour to hell, if the book printed say true, which saith that the Low Countriemen are next neighbours to the devil. And I am sure we are now seated lower then any part of these Countries, for the waters are above us and about us, and we live in more fear of them then of the enemy; for we may be drowned at an hour's warning, if we do not continually work against it, and yet, and it shall please your Ex^{cie} this is the seat for a Winter War. Many more inconveniencies we are daily sensible of, of which I have endured as much, as I dare say without vanitie that few of my rank and fortune have suffered more or longer then I have done in these Countries; having served these 27 years together without intermission, and all this for no other end (for I am £900 a year the worse for the Wars) then to make me able to serve my Prince and countrie when occasion should be offered.

"But since the time is come that opinion doth so govern as strangers get the Command and new souldiers imployed, which was never heard of before among men of our occupation, it is high time for me to retire, and wish I had been of any other profession than this. For if long service can get no honour, nor reward, nor imploymente, but the contrary, it would touch a man's discretion to be more and more unfortunate. All my comfort is I shall have the honour and good fortune in my retreat to draw neerer to your Ex^{cies} service, if not in my profession (which I desire above all) yet in something whereof your Ex. may make use of me. For I am ambitious of nothing more, then to prove myself by action and not by recommendation

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[1] Sir George Blundel appears to have been a wag. Young Sir Edward Conway, who served at the siege of Bergen-op-zoom in company with Sir George Blundel, says in one of his letters from the beleaguered city to Sir Dudley Carleton:—"We watch five nights and sleepe two, whitch S^{r} George Blundell thinkes not to be an equal proportion." Sept. 16, 1622.—*S. P. Holland.*

"your Excellencies most faithfull
"obedient and humble servant,
"ED. CECYLL.

"From our Army at
Wallike, the
4th of Decemb."[1] [1624].

The reference in Cecil's letter to "strangers getting the command" of British troops, brings us back to Ernest, Count of Mansfeld, as he was the envied "stranger" who was about to get the command of 12,000 British troops, raised for the recovery of the Palatinate.

James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, who might justly have been styled the "magnificent"—not so much from his beauty of person as from his gorgeous apparel—had been sent to Paris in May, to assist Lord Kensington in his negotiations with the French Court, for concluding a marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, and the Princess Henrietta Maria. However anxious these two noblemen might be to conclude an advantageous treaty for their sovereign, they were quite outmatched and overreached by Cardinal Richelieu, who saw in this treaty a fitting occasion to advance the interests of his country, and raise France to the high position among European nations which she had occupied under Henry the Great's rule. In accomplishing this great end, Richelieu saw himself to all intents and purposes the ruler of France. Carlisle had orders to propose to the French Court—a league against the House of Austria. This league was the Prince's and Buckingham's grand aim.[1] It happened that at this time there was a dispute between France and Spain about the Valtelline,[2] which was in the hands of the Spaniards, and which territory was to France what the Palatinate was to England. Why should not Great Britain and France league together against the common foe, and an Anglo-French force commanded by Count Mansfeld sweep the Valtelline and the Palatinate clear of the Spaniards? Thus argued Buckingham, and the idea seemed a good one. But unfortunately he forgot the fact that France having no interest in the Palatinate, or England in the Valtelline, the league would be a very hollow and one-sided one—a league that might perchance benefit one of the two kingdoms, but at the expense of the other. Which kingdom was to benefit—England or France? The sequel will presently show. In the meantime Mansfeld had been summoned to Paris, and preparations were made for war. Mansfeld served the double purpose of acting as a scarecrow to frighten the Spanish Government, and a decoy duck to lure the British King into the trap which Richelieu was preparing for him.

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[1] Printed in *Cabala*, Part i. p. 129.

Richelieu's grand project was to achieve what Olivares had signally failed in, viz., a marriage treaty granting great rights and concessions to the English Roman Catholics, as well as freedom of worship, and, more important still, a clause in the treaty to the effect that "the children which shall be born of this marriage shall be brought up by

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[1] Rapin, ii. Bk. xviii. p. 234.

[2] An extensive Alpine valley at the head of Lake Como and a highway from Italy into Germany.

Madame, their mother, till the age of thirteen years."[1] This condition, pregnant of evil results in the future, had been inserted in the Spanish marriage treaty by the Pope, and was, of course, with a view to imbuing the minds of the royal children born of the marriage with Roman Catholic principles and inclinations. James had not fallen so low, or changed his ideas as to Jesuits and Papists so completely, as to tamely agree to conditions which he naturally considered as derogatory to his honour as a Protestant king. But James was no longer king. He was completely in the hands of his son and Buckingham ; and they, regardless of after-consequences, were ready to sign away their honour for the sake of carrying out their policy. Richelieu doubtless knew this, and he was the ventriloquist who made that useless wooden machine called Louis XIII. tell Lords Carlisle and Kensington that the Marriage and League were two distinct affairs, and that the latter would be taken into consideration directly the treaty for the former was ratified.

Mansfeld came over to England towards the end of September, and, after some conferences, agreed with the King, the Prince, and the Duke, that he should have 12,000 troops to carry the war into the Lower Palatinate. He brought verbal promises from the King of France to support the expedition under Mansfeld with men and money ; also to allow the British troops to land on French soil. Verbal promises and vague declarations were unsatisfactory things to count on when seeking an ally, but pending more decided utterances and actions on the part of the French King, steps were taken to levy 12,000 men, and Mansfeld crossed over to Holland to hunt up German recruits.[2]

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[1] Article xix. of the marriage treaty.

[2] *E. de Mansfeldt*, ii. p. 239.

"You have Count Mansfeldt with you and we expect him here again shortly," wrote a diligent observer of what was passing at this time, "for they say he is to have hence 8,000 English and 4,000 Scots under 6 regiments, whereof the first stands in question twixt the Earl of Lincoln and the young Lord Doncaster. The Lord Cromwell is to have the second, Sir Charles Rich the third, whose lieutenant [colonel] is to be your acquaintance, Mr. Hopton that married the Lady Steven; the fourth is allotted to Sir John Borough. Colonel Gray[1] and one Ramsay are named for the Scots. God speed them well whatsoever they do or wheresoever they go; but it is beyond my experience and reading to have such a body of English committed to and commanded by a stranger, to say no more."[2]

Early in November the marriage treaty was signed by the English ambassadors at Paris, and a month later it was ratified by James and his son in the presence of Buckingham and Conway, Secretary of State.

The treaty was a triumph for French diplomacy and an Emancipation Act for the English Roman Catholics, who, after the signing of the treaty were, practically speaking, endowed with greater rights and privileges than the English Protestants.[3] "From this moment," wrote a commentator on this one-sided treaty, "may be dated the origin of the direful dissensions between the English parliaments and the Stuart monarchs."

Directly the marriage treaty was signed, James pressed the Court of France with respect to the league. But France had no longer need of the assistance of Mansfeld and British troops to recover the Valtelline. A league had already been formed between France, Venice, and Savoy, for the recovery of the Valtelline, and a French army despatched thither. The French policy was now to do without England's help if possible, but until France's foreign affairs were satisfactorily settled, to hold out hopes of an early Anglo-French alliance against Spain.

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[1] Col. Sir Andrew Gray had been an old German commander, and even in time of peace wore buff and went to Court with a brace of pistols stuck in his belt, which the King never liked to see.

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct. 9.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] "One of the marriage articles secretly stipulated for a relaxation of the persecution against the Roman Catholics; and, in proof that King James meant to observe his promise, he issued instructions, ordering all persons imprisoned for religion to be released and all fines levied on recusants to be returned; likewise commanding all judges and magistrates to stop the executions of papists convicted under the penal laws."—Strickland's *Queens of England*, iv. p. 149.

To clearly understand the folly of England embarking on a hazardous enterprise with no allies save the Dutch, who had their hands full already, it must be remembered that there was no Parliament sitting and that Buckingham overruled both the King and Privy Council. It is true that the latter body had given it as their opinion that Mansfeld should not receive his commission until the King of France had stated in writing his intentions to forward Mansfeld's design, and allow him and his troops to land in France *en route* for the Palatinate. The advice of the Privy Council and the refusal of the Council of War to advance the required money for levying and paying 12,000 troops were both overruled. On November 24 a warrant was issued by the Council of War—whose consciences had been won over to granting money out of the subsidies for a purpose never intended—for the payment by the treasurers of £55,000. This sum was to defray the cost of levying 12,000 men, and provide pay for two months. These difficulties overcome, and Mansfeld having returned to London, preparations for this inauspicious winter campaign were hurried forward. The Archduchess Isabella had demanded from James an explanation as to the destination of these new levies, and the King had told her plainly they were only to be employed against the Duke of Bavaria in restoring the Palatinate to his children.

He also assured her and the Spanish ambassador that these troops should commit no act of hostility against the subjects or possessions of the King of Spain and the Archduchess.[1] These representations gave little satisfaction, and it was generally believed that Mansfeld was about to lead his troops to the relief of Breda. The terror which his very name inspired in France, Holland, and the Spanish Netherlands, made his probable advent be looked forward to in these countries with the greatest dread, and it is amusing now to read of the wild reports which came from all quarters announcing the speedy arrival of the Count at the head of an enormous army in that particular quarter.[2]

Mansfeld's 12,000 soldiers were *pressed men*, and, as there is a great similarity between the kind of soldiers pressed for this expedition and those raised a few months later to serve in the voyage to Cadiz, under Sir Edward Cecil, a short account of their doings will not be irrelevant.

The rendezvous was at Dover and the towns adjacent, and thither were the troops sent early in December.

> "Our soldiers," wrote an interested spectator, "are marching on all sides to Dover; God send them good shipping and success; but such a rabble of raw and poor rascals have not lightly been seen, and go so unwillingly that they must rather be driven than led."[3]

Arrived at Dover, these poor recruits found small provision made for their comfort, either in the way of food or lodging.

> "The soldiers commit great outrages," wrote the Lieutenant of Dover Castle to the Council, "pulling down houses and taking away cattle."[4]

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[1] *E. de Mansfeldt*, ii. p. 245. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 247–249.

[3] Chamberlain to Carleton, Dec. 18.—*S. P. Dom.*

[4] Sir J. Hippisley to the Council, Dec. 26.—*S. P. Dom.*

Another resident at Dover wrote in the same strain, describing the soldiers as gaol birds, "who kill sheep in abundance and threaten to burn the town if left in want."[1] Things came to such a pass that the authorities at Dover were compelled to ask for martial law to be put in force against the soldiers, and James sent Sir John Ogle and Sir W. St. Leger down to Dover to inquire into and report on the condition of the troops. All this time letters were passing to and fro between the English and French Courts regarding the landing of these same troops on French soil. The English Court had been led to believe all along that Louis would allow these troops to land at some French port and march to the Palatinate in conjunction with a body of French cavalry. The French king had indeed verbally promised this, but now he drew back, and his ambassador proposed to James that Mansfeld should march to the Palatinate by the Spanish Netherlands—the quickest way. Hardly had James agreed to this plan and given Mansfeld directions to ask leave from the Archduchess that his troops might pass through her territory, and, if she refused her consent to that, then he was to force his way across the Spanish territory, than Louis sent word to James "that Mansfeld could not be permitted to land in France unless the English Government distinctly authorised his passage through the Spanish Netherlands."[2] This was plain enough, but James and Buckingham, hoping to the very end to engage France in the expedition by the very fact of the English troops landing at a French port, obliged Mansfeld to sail for Calais with his troops and effect a landing. As might have been expected, the French king, declining to be implicated in an undertaking he had long determined to slip out of, had given orders that none of the troops were to be allowed to land. Consequently, on their arrival before Calais, they were not permitted to disembark. To Mansfeld this was a matter of small moment. He had been won over by Richelieu and his party to their scheme, which was that the British troops should march to the relief of Breda.[1] The able French minister knew that this would embroil James with Spain, and it was the policy of the French Government to bring this to pass. Mansfeld had now no choice but to sail for a Dutch port, and, on February 1, the Hamburg vessels which contained his troops arrived at Flushing. Not being expected, no provisions had been made for their reception. While negotiations were going on relative to the landing and disposal of these troops, these same troops were starving on board ship, where they were packed together like herrings. Days passed before they were permitted to land, and they were then sent in open boats to Gertruydenberg. Many died from starvation and cold long before they arrived there, and a pestilence carried off many more even when food was at last forthcoming. An Irish officer, then serving under Spinola before Breda, gives a most pitiful account of the unfortunate troops under Mansfeld.

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[1] Sir T. Wilsford to Nicholas, Dec. 27.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] Dr. Gardiner, as before, v. p. 281.

> "What with plague, with agues, with the sea, and with vomiting by reason of their long shutting up in the ships with the narrowness of the room, and many filled with the filthy savour, being almost all raw soldiers, and unaccustomed to tempests and stinks, were cast into the waves either dead or half alive. There was counted by some above the number of 4,000; some cast into the sea for dead, by swimming got to the shore and are yet living in the town. Many dead bodies floating by the shore side

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[1] Martin, *Histoire de France*, ii. p. 210.

unburied, and more everywhere cast up by the sea on the land, breathed forth a grievous plague upon the neighbouring towns of Holland."[1]

The Duke of Brunswick was to have followed Mansfeld to Holland with 2,000 French cavalry, which was all the help the French King could be induced to give for the recovery of the Palatinate. Duke Christian had come over to England in December, and had been much fêted in London by the Prince and the war party. In consideration of his past and future services to the Queen of Bohemia's cause, James made him a Knight of the Garter, gave him a pension of £2,000 a year, and a present of £3,000 at parting.[2] When Mansfeld was refused permission to land at Calais, it was agreed that Duke Christian was to follow with the French cavalry to Flushing as soon as practicable. The Brunswickian horse fared as badly as the British infantry had done, and when they arrived off Zeeland, out of a force of 2,000 only a few hundreds remained—desertion previous to embarkation, and the loss of one or two vessels at sea in a fearful storm, having caused this woeful reduction. For such an attenuated force to march to the Palatinate in the depth of winter, with Tilly and his veterans waiting to receive them on the frontier, was out of the question. Mansfeld wished to lead his troops against Breda, notwithstanding the promise he had given James that he would not commit any act of hostility against the Spanish troops. The Prince of Orange, from his sick bed at the Hague, fumed and fretted at Mansfeld's delay in marching to Breda.[3] He had been led to believe, both by the French King and Mansfeld himself, that these troops would be so employed, and his anger knew no bounds when he found the English colonels under Mansfeld refused to obey their general when he wished to march to Breda, having received express commands from James not to do so.[1] Well might Maurice complain of having to feed troops who were of no earthly use to him, as but for Dutch charity the troops would have starved to a man, and well might he declaim against his most Christian Majesty, King Louis, who had deceived his allies all round.[2]

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[1] Captain Barry's *Siege of Breda*, p. 98.

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, Jan. 8.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] *E. de Mansfeldt*, ii. p. 284.

The expectation of being attacked by fresh troops had given a stimulus to the exertions of the Marquis Spinola, and he fortified his camp with an intrenchment "of a wonderful greatness, and brought it to perfection, although it was at the most unseasonable time of the winter. The compass of it was 52,000 paces."[3]

The Spanish troops before Breda were much reduced by disease caused by the hardships they endured, the flooded state of their encampment, and the sickliness of the season, which even the frost did not take away. Spinola himself was afflicted with great bodily weakness and pain, and was carried about in a litter to superintend the progress of his works. He caused deep pits to be dug to drain the water from among his tents, and sluices were cut in the river to empty the water in another direction. The States' troops at Waelwick also suffered severely from the prevalent unhealthiness of the season and the hardships they endured. The losses sustained by the British regiments this winter are shown by a proclamation issued by the Privy Council to the Lords Lieutenant of counties.[4]

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[1] Lord Cromwell to Conway, $\frac{\text{Feb. 26.}}{\text{March 8.}}$—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] St. Leger to Conway, March 28, 1625.—*S. P. Holland.*

[3] Crosse, p. 1500.

[4] Feb. 25, 1624–5.—*S. P. Dom.*

"After my very harty comendacons to yo^{r} Lo^{pp}, whereas an humble suytt hath bene made to this Board by the lo. Willoughby, S^{r} Ed. Cecill, and others, the Colonells and Captaynes, both of the old Regim^{ts}, as also of those new Regim^{ts}, raysed here the last summ^{r} for the service of the States, that in regard the said Troopes are much shrunke and weakened by lying in the field all the winter, and are nevertheless called upon by his Excellency, their generall, to have them compleate and in readines for some service within a short time, that therefore for the speedie supplie of the said English Regim^{ts} it mought be permitted to them and their officers to beat their drums, and that they might receive such further countenance from this Board as hath been heretofore given upon like occasion of raysing voluntaries; wherunto we having accordingly given allowance and p'mission, have likewise thought good to give yo^{r} Lo^{pp} intymacon thereof to the end that you may not only p'mitt and suffer any the said colonells or captaynes, or such officers they shall depute, to levye and take upp such voluntarie soldiers as shalbe willing to take entertainment under them, but that withall you afford them yo^{r} best direccons, assistance and furtherance therein, and that you give notice hereof to the Deputie lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, and other his M^{ts} ministers unto whome it may appertaine within the precints of yo^{r} severall Lieutenantcies. And in case any of those voluntaries shall, after they have accepted entertainment mony, whereby they are ingaged into the service, withdrawe themselves, or runn awaye from their Captaynes or conductors, you are upon any such complaint to yeeld yo^{r} best assistaunce for the apprehending and recovering of those runnawaies, and then to comitt to prison untill they submitt themselves, or otherwise to punish them as is usual in like cases. And soe wee bid yo^{r} Lo^{pp} very hartily farewell, from Whitehall the 25 of Feb., 1624. Yo Lo very loving friends,

"G. Cant: "Jo. Lincoln, C.S. "Jo. Mandevill.
"Grandisone. "G. Carew. "Alb. Morton."

"We hear that Mansfeld's troops are almost half starveed," wrote an indignant Englishman in London to the British ambassador at the Hague. "If it be so, *majus peccatum habent* that should have made better provision and taken better order for them. It will quite discourage our people to be thus sent to the slaughter, or rather to famine and pestilence."[1]

The prophecy contained in this last sentence was to be fulfilled unfortunately only too soon.

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[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, Feb. 26.—*S. P. Dom.*

CHAPTER III.

1625.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE VOYAGE TO CADIZ.

"It is not thus that generals set out when they are expected to achieve brilliant victories."

JAMES the First of England, and Sixth of Scotland, departed this life on March 27, 1625, and a month later, Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, commander-in-chief of the States' army, and Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, finished his earthly career.

Of the former it is sufficient to say that, "he was a king almost from his birth."[1] The latter sovereign, for sovereign he was to all intents and purposes, though he was never crowned, was a soldier, in the highest sense of the word, almost from his birth. The history of his country is Maurice of Nassau's best epitaph. His death-bed at the Hague was overshadowed by the impending fate of Breda, and one of the last questions he asked was, whether Breda still held out? The anxiety the soldier-prince endured during the last months of his life regarding Breda doubtless shrivelled up his lion heart. "The Prince of Orange has been opened," wrote the English ambassador at the Hague to Secretary Conway, "and found to have the fullest brain and the least heart his physicians had ever seen."[1]

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[1] Shortly after the King's death, Bishop Laud delivered into the hands of the Duke of Buckingham "brief annotations or memorables of the life and death of King James," of which the first on the list was the above indisputable fact. See Rushworth, i. p. 155.

A few weeks before the Prince of Orange's death, his brother, Count Frederick Henry of Nassau, was married at the Hague to Emilie, Countess of Solms, and a few days after, by his brother's desire, he departed to join the States' army at Gertruydenberg, where the whole army met him, and took the oath of fidelity to him as their commander-in-chief.[2]

Under the able leadership of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, the States' army was eventually to achieve great things; but the days of Breda were numbered before the new commander-in-chief had taken over the supreme command of the army. Nothing could break down the strong earthworks which Spinola had raised all round the beleaguered city, and the garrison was gradually being starved into submission.

> "I have ever had a great opinion of Spinola," wrote a discerning Englishman to Sir Dudley Carleton, "as the ablest man of our age, for judgment, vigilancy, daring and wariness, and if he carry Breda, as we make account he will, it is one of the greatest services hath been done many a day, considering the manifold difficulties."[3]

James had obstinately refused to allow Mansfeld to employ his British troops in marching to the relief of Breda. Directly James was dead his son was asked to annul this restriction. If Breda could be saved by means of British troops, it would be a glorious beginning to his

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[1] Carleton to Conway, May 10.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] Commelyn, *Histoire de la vie de Frédéric Henry de Nassau*, p. 9; St. Leger to Conway, April $\frac{3}{13}$.—*S. P. Holland.*

[3] Chamberlain to Carleton, April 23.—*S. P. Dom.*

Majesty's reign, wrote Sir W. St. Leger to Secretary Conway from the Hague.[1] Charles gave the required permission,[2] but by this time Mansfeld's 12,000 Britons had dwindled to 3,000, and this small body of men was composed of too poor stuff to face Spinola's seasoned veterans. Many of their comrades had already deserted to the enemy, who derived but little advantage from their services. An Irish officer in Spinola's army before Breda, who wrote an account of the siege, has left it on record that some of Mansfeld's runaways, who took service under Spinola, were so utterly ignorant of all that soldiers ought to know, that when they had to load their muskets, they poured all the powder they had in their flasks into the muzzles of their guns, scarcely leaving any room for the bullets.[3] The narrator of this extraordinary story attributes the crass ignorance of these men to their having "been gathered compulsorily of the most basest sort of the rascalitie."[4]

A letter from Sir Edward Cecil, written a few weeks before the fall of Breda, shows that the new commander of the States' forces was determined to make one grand effort to relieve the beleaguered city.

Sir E. Cecil to Lord Conway.[5]

"My very good Lord,

"If I have not answered y^{r} lo. Noble letter sooner, my indisposition is the true cause that I have been lattly visited wth all.

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[1] St. Leger to Conway, April $\frac{3}{13}$.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] Carleton, in a letter to Lord Cromwell and the other colonels of Mansfeld's army, informs them that the restriction laid upon them not to march to Breda is taken away, and they can now go, May 7.—*S. P. Holland.*

[3] Barry's *Siege of Breda*, p. 99.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Sir Edward Conway had been created Baron Conway of Ragley, County Warwick, March 22, 1624, and in the December following was appointed Captain of the Isle of Wight.

"Among those menn that love to hear well of there friendes, I am to offer y^{r} lo. up my congratulation for y^{r} diserved honor his late Ma^{t} did conferre upon y^{r} lo. After that it belonges to mee to render y^{o} many thanckes for y^{r} letter, wherein it hath pleased y^{r} lo. to set y^{r} hand to an acknowledgmente that makes mee more in debted to y^{o} than if y^{o} had not acknowledged any debte. By cause y^{o} give me assurance of y^{r} lo. noble affection and friendshipe, therefore y^{r} lo. may be confidente, wth the same freedome and certaintie w^{ch} y^{o} have bestoed upon mee, that I will rather invite occasiones then omitt anie, whereby I may receave y^{r} commandmentes and obey them.

"Wee are now ready to marche, wth a newe Generall, wth as brave and compleatte and (*sic*) Army as was ever seene in these contries, or in any other, as I can lerne, for there [their] order and Reall provitions of all manere of thinges. And the actione that will seeme most easie for us is to fighte; but the suneste [quickest] way wee can thincke one [on] to releave the towne of Breda, will be if wee can but vittall our selves. For if wee can, it is as easy, and more easy, to Blocke up the [enemy's] Army as it is for them to Blocke up the Towne. For the forcing of the Treanches I take it very dificulte, for the[y] have worked upon them ever sence they first sett downe, and now more then ever. They have dobled there [their] workes as well towardes us as to the Towne, and every treanche cannone profe, beside there [their] great Bastiones and trafferses wth in, and wee must come naked to assalte them if wee goe that way. Wee shall have in our Army 288 companies of foote and 92 of Horse, and nigh a 100 peases of Ordinance of all sorts. This is a fitt preportione to regaine the Palitenatte, where we shall not loose neither honor nor charge, but make the conquiste repare much of it.

"I am, as I allwayes was, of the opinean that the charge of Mansfeld was lost labore and charge cast a way, but muche more now that when he goethe from us heare he will not be able to feade himselfe. Of the 12,000 menne there is scante [scarce] soe many hundreds leafte, and these last die as faste, according to preportione, as if God were not well pleased that a stranger should command our Nation. What will be the evente God knoweth.

And soe, wth the remembrance of my humble servis to y^{o}, I reast

"Y^{r} lo.
"to be commanded,
"ED. CECYLL.

"From our Army this
$\frac{29}{19}$ of Apriell [1625]."

[P.S.] "I take it that about maye daye, newe style, y^{o} lo. shall heare that our Army is marching towards our great Prince."[1]

Add. "To the Rig. honorable and his
very good lord the lo. Connowaye,
Barone of Raglind, and
Principall Scecritary of State
at
Corte."

End. "29 Aprill, 1625. S^{r} Edward Cecill to the Lo. Conway, acknowledging the receipt of a L^{re}, and excusing the not answering it till now; congratulating his Lop^{s} new honor and expressing much thankfullness for favors receaved; shewes how compleate an Army the States have, theire resolutions and hope to releive Breda, and thereupon makes a long discourse."

After the States' army had met Prince Frederick Henry at Gertruydenberg, and taken the oath of fidelity to him, they marched to Dungen.[2] Finding Breda inaccessible on that side, the Prince of Orange marched to Gertruydenberg on May 3, with 6,000 men, and on the following night attempted the relief of Breda by beating up the enemy's quarters at Terheyden. The English had the vanguard, and were commanded by Sir Horace Vere, the Earl of Oxford being second in command.[3] They attacked and carried two forts in gallant style, but meeting with most determined resistance, and being unable to overcome the difficulties which presented themselves, they were obliged to retreat. Want of ammunition, and the vanguard not being duly supported by the rest of the troops, were two of the causes which were said to have contributed to the failure of the enterprise.[1] The English troops suffered severely in this fight. The Earl of Oxford, Sir Thomas Winne, Captain Dacres, Captain John Cromwell, Captain Tyrwhitt, and Lieutenant Bell were wounded, and Ensign Stanhope was killed.[2]

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[1] *S. P. Holland.*

[2] A village in Brabant, three leagues east of Breda.

[3] Carleton to Conway, May 7.—*S. P. Holland.*

This was the last attempt to relieve Breda. Sir E. Cecil (who did not take part in the attack on Terheyden) was right in his opinion that it was impossible to storm the enemy's trenches, and that victuals for the States' army, and want of victuals for Spinola's army, might accomplish what no fighting would. Unfortunately, victuals were very scarce with the Prince of Orange. He had no straw, or anything to make huts of, and the camp was deep sand, which the heavy rains had turned into a quagmire. Sickness followed as a matter of course. "The longer they stay here the worse it is like to be," wrote a visitor to the States' camp at Little Dungen.[3] All hope of relieving Breda being now at an end, and the garrison being without food, the Prince of Orange contrived to let the governor of the town know that he was at liberty to surrender on the best terms he could. On May 26th the garrison surrendered and marched out with the honours of war. The Marquis Spinola, who had once more earned the proud distinction of being the first soldier of the age, stood near the gate, and saw the troops march out. He respectfully saluted the governor, the

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[1] Carleton to Conway, May 7.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] Crosse, pp. 1511–2.

[3] Mr. Dudley Carleton to his uncle, Sir Dudley Carleton, May 8.—*S. P. Holland.*

English and French colonels, and other officers, and expressed his admiration of the valour and fortitude of the soldiers.

When King James died England was on the brink of a war, but no war had ever been declared. Mansfeld, indeed, had been sent to reconquer the Palatinate with an army chiefly composed of British troops, but he never reached his destination, and his army had wasted away like snow in spring. Christian IV., King of Denmark, had been induced, by the representations of James, to embrace the cause of the ex-king of Bohemia, and to take the field against Tilly and the Imperialists. Louis XIII. had, thanks to Richelieu's policy, kept on friendly terms with both Great Britain and Spain. The Anglo-French marriage treaty had been signed and ratified. The Princess Henriette Marie was to be married by proxy at Paris on May 1 (old style) to King Charles. Gustavus Adolphus, the Lion of the North, had not yet taken the field, though the heads of the Protestant party were in active negotiations with him, and his co-operation was daily expected by the Protestant Princes of Germany. Such was the state of affairs when Charles succeeded to the Crown.

The new king was not long in letting his subjects see that the policy which had been pursued by himself and Buckingham during the last year of the late king's life was now to be followed at all hazards. War was to be declared against Spain, and a large fleet was to be sent to the Spanish coast to destroy Spanish ships and cripple Spanish power. Mansfeld was to be reinforced and assisted with money; Christian IV. was to be helped in like manner. The four new English regiments in the Low Countries were to be kept there in the king's pay to assist the Dutch. All these things and many more, of less magnitude but of great cost, had Charles pledged himself to do. The late king's last days had been embittered by the adverse policy of his son and favourite. But Charles had not this trial to go through. Buckingham's policy was the king's policy, and they went hand in hand in their schemes for crushing their enemies, reinstating their friends in power, and refilling an exhausted exchequer. The great duke's roving imagination dictated the policy which was to advance the honour and glory of Great Britain and humble her enemies. Charles adopted the policy and gave his royal assent. All that was wanting now was money to put these glorious schemes in motion. So certain was the king of getting the necessary supplies from an obedient Parliament, that he collected a large fleet at Plymouth, issued orders for the levy of 10,000 land soldiers to go with the fleet, and entered into negotiations with the States-General for their co-operation in the expedition, some time before the Parliament, which had been summoned, had assembled.

The idea of sending a fleet to Spain to prey on Spanish shipping, and bring back the rich cargoes of a captured West India fleet, seems to have originated with Buckingham, and to have filled his busy brain ever since December in the previous year.[1] It would seem that the Lord High Admiral of England contemplated sending an expedition to the Spanish coast exactly similar to the one sent out by Elizabeth in 1596.[2] Judging from the grand success of that fleet,—Buckingham thought that a combined naval and military force of equal strength as that which left the shores of England in the summer of 1596, would cripple Spanish power, and by causing a war of diversion would pave the way for Mansfeld and his allies to reconquer the Palatinate.

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[1] Dr. Gardiner's *History of England*, v. p. 303.

[2] A memorandum in Carleton's handwriting, written on the margin of the States' reply to his memorial, asking them to lend certain troops to go with the fleet, states that the troops to be asked for were "according to the Cales voyage," April 17.—*S. P. Holland.*

However widely different Buckingham's war schemes were, they all revolved on the same pivot—the reconquest of the Palatinate. This was absolutely necessary to give a healthy tone to his schemes and carry the public interest, and what was even more to him the interest of England's Protestant allies, along with him. James had consented to a breach with Spain in the interest of the Palatinate, and both Charles and Buckingham knew that the only ostensible reason they could give for declaring war against Spain must be on the score of the exiled Frederick.

The States-General were to be asked not only to furnish a certain number of ships to join the expedition, but to allow some of their best English officers and 2,000 picked soldiers to go with the fleet. All this was in accordance with what had happened in 1596, when the Dutch had sent a squadron of twenty-four ships to join the English fleet, and had permitted Sir Francis Vere and other English officers, with an English regiment over 2,000 strong, to leave their service temporarily, and go with the expedition to Cadiz. But the state of affairs was altered now. The British troops were mostly paid by the States-General, and were on an entirely different footing since the treaty of 1598. Added to this, when their services were asked for, the fate of Breda still hung in the balance, and the States' army had experienced great reverses. The duke was not a man to think of obstacles, and we find his factotum and ready ambassador, Sir Wm. St. Leger, writing to Sir Dudley Carleton early in April and opening out his master's wishes in the matter.[1]

Charles had already sent his instructions to Carleton, and the king's wishes were laid before the States-General in their assembly at the Hague. Before that body had given a decisive answer to the king's requests, Buckingham, with his accustomed impetuosity, had written to several officers then serving in the Low Countries, requesting their services in the coming expedition. Of these historical letters, the following is the one that has most interest for us:—

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[1] St. Leger to Carleton, April $\frac{8}{18}$.—*S. P. Holland.*

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO SIR E. CECIL.

"SIR,

"It hath pleased his Matie, in contemplation of the extremitie in w^{c}h he sees his deare Brother and sister, at their earnest suites often offered to his gratious father of happie memorie, and now renewed to him, to thinke of the waies to remedie the necessities they are in, and of his meere Grace, and favour to mee, hath chosen mee to putt in Execution those wayes deliberated on, that may most conduce to the restoring of them to their Estates and Dignities. So as it is resolved upon that a ffleete of shipps may bee employed, accompanied w^{t}h tenne thousand land souldiers, w^{c}h may doe some notable effects to move those that have disposest his Maties deare sister of her inheritance, to loose that prize. And of having undertaken that charge, w^{t}h that care and dutie I owe to that trust and service, have amongst my considerations of the wayes to those ends made choice of yu as a second person to myselfe, upon whom I must repose my honour, w^{c}h is ample argument of my opinion of yr vertue and abilities. And although I am confident that even that trust of myne is enough to stirr up a lesse noble heart then yours, to applie all in yr power to discharge it; yet I will lay before you, that it is y^{r} restauration of our gratious Master's Sister and Nephewes, for the publique good, for the honour of our nation, and the glorie of our Gratious King and M^{r}. And this I say, not to inflame yu to Action whereof there is noe need, but to stirr up y^{r} endeavour to deale w^{t}h that Prince and People, to bee sensible of the great case (by diversion) that will come to them. And in that manner w^{c}h they would have purchased but two yeares since at any rate. And from these, and all other arguments that shall offer themselves to yu, to move that State according to a negotiation of S^r^ William S^t^. Legers w^t^h them, not onelie to performe their promise of a 1,000 trayned men, and disciplined, but alsoe to encrease them to a thousand more if it be possible. And if they desire that new men should bee return'd for them, to conclude of a certaine day, and the easiest way for the conveying those men to Plymouth, where the rendez vous is for the whole Armie by Sea and Land on the 26. It is heere understood that the thousand or two thousand Men shall come w^t^h their Captaines and Officers; And that further there should bee leave granted to some other principall Colonells to come into his Armie, for the better fortefying of it, who should have their Collonelships reserved for them, if it shall please God to returne them againe to their service. And for their officers and Captns to have like leave to come w^t^h like priviledge for the conservation of their Companies, and Lieutenants as many as yu shall thinke worthie to chuse, and have spiritts to quitt that day certaine entertaynemt for the ambitions to bee Capt^ns^, Covetous to measure gould by their hatts, and other spoiles by shipps Lading, and the honour of a brave accord. ffor the Colonells, the officers, and some Lieutenants of speciall note yu shall receive a Lyst heerew^t^h. And to yu that know soe well the advantage of the practise of Armes and order, I shall not need to wish yu to make hast to send over the officers that must discipline the souldiers at their Rendez Vous, before they goe aboard; nor to pray yu to make hast, to the end yu may bee readie to receive the Armie, distribute them, hold them in Justice and obedience, and advance the discipline as much as may bee possible.

"I hope S^r^ William St. Leger will bee able to come to yu w^t^h somewhat more particular Instruction and information. The King's Ambassadour is upon the ould negotiation, and these new directions to give yu as much light as is requisite and will assist yu w^t^h all endeavour, for the accomplishing of the propositions and for the perfecting of that yu shall conclude off; if yu find it to be councelleable to hast yr selfe hither, and leave one of those Colonells there whom yu shall thinke fitt to give expedition to the worke that must follow you. Corporalls of the field, Quartre Masters, Enginiers, and Commissaries of the Artillerie, yu will not forgett to furnish the Armie w^t^h, and whatsoever else yu may know to bee had more convenientlie there then heere.

"I will use no other expression to yu then that I have putt into yr hands the first infinite trust and pawne of my good will that ever I had in my power to bestow, wᵗh I have done wᵗh the confidence and affection of

"Yr. Lop. faythfull friend
"and servant,
"G. BUCKINGHAM.

"Whitehall, 4th of
May, 1625."[1]

There is no proof that Sir Edward Cecil had asked the duke to give him a command in the fleet now preparing for sea; on the contrary, we have it on Cecil's own authority that he had never expected the honour now conferred upon him.[2] It must also be distinctly borne in mind that the command which Buckingham offered Cecil in the first instance, was that of Lord Marshal of the army on board the fleet, the supreme command of the fleet being reserved by the Lord High Admiral for himself.

The same day that the duke wrote to Sir E. Cecil offering him the above appointment, he wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton, Sir Horace Vere, Sir John Burroughs, and the Earl of Oxford.[3] All these letters were carried to Holland by Sir W. St. Leger, who was sent there on a special mission, as will presently appear. These letters all related to "the great design," as we may call it. Carleton was to get a commission from the ex-king of Bohemia appointing Buckingham to the command of the fleet. He was also to use his influence with the States-General to induce them to send a certain number of picked English troops with their officers to serve on board the fleet. The duke's letter to Sir Horace Vere was almost an apologetic one for his not being asked to go with the fleet. Vere was told the States required his services to command the English troops in the field.

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[1] From the copy of the duke's letter in *Harl. MSS.* 3638 f. 98b.

[2] The letter from Cecil to Buckingham in *Cabala* I. 128–9, dated "20 Novemb.," has been wrongly supposed to have been written in 1624. It was really written in 1621, at the same time that Cecil wrote to the Prince of Wales soliciting for the command of any troops that might be sent to the Palatinate. See the Prince's letter to Buckingham given at the end of chapter I. in this vol.

[3] *S. P. Holland* for May, 1625

> "For the present I have bin soe happy as to obtain from his Ma^{ty} the creating of you a Baron," wrote the duke, "of what place or name you will give yourself the nomination; the patent is drawing, but cannot bee perfected till we heare from you."[1]

Richly as Sir H. Vere deserved the title, it is more than probable he would never have got it had not the king wished to atone to him for appointing General Cecil, his junior officer, to a high command in the fleet. The title was a sop to appease his wounded vanity in being left behind. Vere was one of those rare individuals who never solicited for vacant posts and commands, consequently he stood in danger of being neglected by venal ministers and royal favourites. He had been treated with the greatest ingratitude by Frederick, ex-king of Bohemia, whom he had served so faithfully and long when commanding in the Palatinate.[2] Yet we never find him complaining or petitioning royalty for any favours.

Buckingham's letter to the gallant Sir John Burroughs, then serving as colonel of a skeleton regiment in the service of Count Mansfeld, was an invitation to him to go with the fleet as a colonel of a foot regiment. This officer's gallant defence of Frankenthal was still fresh in the minds of the public, and his experience would be invaluable in an army mainly composed of raw levies.

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[1] This paragraph is specially noted in the duke's letter, as having been written with his own hand.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] Sir Dudley Carleton in a letter to Secretary Calvert, alluding to Vere's distinguished services in the Palatinate, says:—"His paines and sufferance in that service deserve (I must confesse) better countinance than he hath found during the whole time of his abode here of the Prince Elector." January 20, 1623.—*S. P. Holland.*

The gallant Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford, had written to Buckingham proffering his services in the forthcoming expedition, and having served as a "General at sea," he expected to have been appointed to the deputy command of the fleet under the duke's command. This command, however, was reserved for Sir E. Cecil, and Buckingham told the earl, in his letter of May 5, that "he could only offer him the Vice-Admiral's place, under the Lord Marshal, which he did not think worthy his acceptance." Before Lord Oxford could receive this letter, he had been wounded in the attack on Spinola's earth works at Terheyden, and had gone to the Hague to recruit his health.

> "Lord Oxford came ten days ago," wrote Sir D. Carleton to Lord Conway on May 23, "and the first night of his arrival fell sick of the same fever that carried off Lord Southampton and his son. His Phisicians despair of his recovery."[1]

A few days after this letter was written, Lord Oxford departed this life at the Hague, to the great sorrow of a large circle of friends, and, most of all, to his charming young wife.[2]

Sir W. St. Leger's mission to the Hague was to move the Assembly of the States-General, with the help of Sir Dudley Carleton, to grant permission for 2,000 picked

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[1] *S. P. Holland.*

[2] Henry de Vere, 18th Earl of Oxford and Lord Chamberlain, had married, two years previously, Lady Diana Cecil, second daughter of the Earl of Exeter, the greatest beauty of her day, and a great heiress. Leaving no issue, the title went to a distant cousin.

British soldiers in the States' service with their officers, to be exchanged for 2,000 recruits from home, who were presently to be sent over. This was Buckingham's plan for strengthening the body of soldiers who were to go with the fleet. And it was an excellent plan, as 2,000 seasoned veterans, interspersed among the remaining 8,000, would have leavened the new undisciplined levies who were in sad need of something to steady and cheer them. Unfortunately the States did not see their way to parting with so many of their best men, and, when they had been asked to do so in the previous month by the British Ambassador, they had objected to the arrangement, though they were quite willing to send twenty ships to join the expedition and certain whole companies of soldiers, the good and bad being taken together. As the Dutch were to partly reap the fruits of an expedition intended to cripple the Spanish nation, Buckingham had great hopes they would eventually yield the point about the picked soldiers being sent to England in exchange for the same number of recruits, and St. Leger accordingly was sent over, on May 5, to press the point, and help General Cecil to procure such warlike provisions for the troops as could not be readily got in England.

In a matter so entirely military, the States' Assembly would not act without the advice of the Prince of Orange, who, as Commander-in-chief of the States' army, was the most fitting person to be consulted in the business St. Leger was sent to negotiate.

"Sir W^{m} St. Leger went on 19th [May] to the camp at Wallwick," wrote Carleton to Secretary Conway, "to dyspose his Excellency, with the help of my Lord General Cecyll, to so good an advise as might give contentment." [1]

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[1] Carleton to Conway, May 25.—*S. P. Holland.*

Illness had prevented St. Leger going sooner to the army encamped at Waelwick,[1] but Sir Dudley Carleton had, with his usual promptness, attended to the instructions sent him by Buckingham, and had procured from the King of Bohemia Buckingham's commission.[2] That facile monarch had also agreed to a paper being drawn up, sanctioning the King of Great Britain's arbitration in all his (Frederick's) affairs.[3] Whilst Buckingham's friends were forwarding his great design in Holland, his friends in England were preparing for the coming expedition with a will. Lord Conway, Secretary of State, was the Duke's most devoted servant, and it is said that it was Conway who first set the fashion of addressing Buckingham as "Your Excellency," which was a title then unknown to English ears.[4] Whatever scheme Buckingham floated, Conway set himself to advance it with all his heart and soul. He only saw with the Duke's eyes, heard with the Duke's ears, and wrote what his "noble patron," as he called him, wished. Such a man, in the high position he filled, was able to play into the Duke's hands, and was of the greatest possible service to him in all his political undertakings. We find him writing, in his official capacity, on May 25, to Sir Dudley Carleton, Sir Edward Cecil, and Colonel Hopton. He asked the two first "to move Mr. Hopton to leave Mansfeld's service, and go with the fleet."[5] His letter to Colonel Hopton contained the offer of an appointment on board the fleet.[6] The anxiety displayed to obtain the services of this gallant young officer affords proof of the estimation he was held in by those in authority. Besides his fitness to command a regiment in the field, his distinguished services to the Queen of Bohemia, after the fatal battle of the White Hill, where she owed her safety,[1] under Providence, to the courage and presence of mind of young Ralph Hopton, were not forgotten by those who wished it to be generally understood, that the great fleet was meant to avenge wrongs done to the King and Queen of Bohemia.

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[1] Carleton to Buckingham, June 20, *Cabala* i. p. 345.

[2] Carleton to Conway, May 25.—*S. P. Holland.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Dr. Gardiner's *History of England*, iv. p. 410.

[5] Conway's Letter Book, May, 1625.—*S. P. Dom.*

[6] *Ibid.*

The result of St. Leger's mission to Holland, and the preparations for the coming voyage, made by General Cecil before leaving the Low Countries, are detailed in a long letter from Cecil to Secretary Conway, written from the Hague on June 2, acknowledging the receipt of Conway's letter, and informing the Secretary that Cecil had forwarded Conway's letter to Mr. Hopton as desired.

> "Touching your businesse here," wrote Cecil, "the State hath been as contrary to us as the wind. For though they see a great action likely to be performed to their own good, with little cost to themselves, yet they desire to be so wise as to make benefit, both wayes, and not to balk any advantage, which makes them stand so stiff upon the denying of us officers and souldiers by election, and will yield to send none but whole companies. . . . But Sir W^{m} St. Leger and I have utterly refused their offer as a proposition against his Majestie's service, for by this ignorant winter war our Companies are grown half new men, having lost most of our old, and of those new men the half are sick besides. . . . It pleased my Lord the Duke to write to me a letter and to let me know he had chosen me his officer, to attend and obey him this journey; an honour too great for me, because I did never expect it."

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[1] "In the flight of Elizabeth from Prague, she travelled principally in a coach, but when the badness of the roads, or the necessity for speed, rendered that impossible, she mounted horse behind a young British volunteer named Hopton, whose life-long boast was the service he had thus rendered her." Green's *Princesses*, v. pp. 348–9.

Cecil goes on to detail what warlike materials he had bought from the States' Government for the use of the fleet. Amongst other things, he mentions having bought ten pieces of new ordnance called drakes, "which shoot 70 musket bullets."

"I hope," continued Cecil, "they will prove the profitablest pieces that were ever used in the quarrel of his Majestie's friends .... My Lord, now is the time for getting good musquetiers; there are many hundred to be found in England that have served in this Land, which by proclamation and promise of money in hand, or more pay, will easily discover themselves, whom some of the new men (to be released) will be glad to satisfy, without charge to his Majestie."[1]

It would have been well if Lord Conway had taken Cecil's advice about procuring good musketeers, and it would have been still better if the Duke of Buckingham had taken precautions against what Cecil warns him against, in the following important letter, which is tinged with a prophetic colouring:—

SIR E. CECIL TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

"MY MOST EXCELLENT LORD,

"There are some letters of mine that had come to yr Lordship's hands a good many dayes since, had not the wind been contrary and withstood their passage, the substance whereof was only to shew you how thankful I hold myself to yr Excellencie for so great and infinite a favor as it hath pleased your Excellencie to think me worthie of. But, as it is a favour that will set me on work all the dayes of my life, so it is greater than I can ever deserve. Howsoever, my resolution is to do my best. And I humbly beseech your Excellencie to believe, that with my diligence and the best understanding I have, I will seek nothing but to please you and to honour you; and if God say Amen, to make the world speak of your design as much (I hope) as ever our Nation hath given cause. And for the faults of myself and those I shall bring with me, they shall not be excused, but with our lives and bloods; for I hope I shall bring none but such as know what to do, and when they come to it, will bite sooner than bark. I do promise myself your Excellencie will have no cause to doubt or repent you of your favours, for I know what men have done and what they can do in my occupation. But God is God, and men are but men.

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[1] Cecil to Conway, *Cabala*, i. pp. 130–1.

"All my discouragement is that the States answer not his Majesties expectation, being fearful (especially since the loss of Breda) to part with any of their old officers, or ould Souldiers; but my hope is now better, for we have put them to another resolution by answering all their objections. By this disposition of the States to the keeping all their old souldiers, I wish your Excellencie will be pleased to be as careful in your choice, as you are desirous of great designs. For otherwise the honour and the charge will both be cast away, as your Excellencie may perceive in some of our latter expeditions, seeing that although there are many called Souldiers in the world, yet but a few there be that are so; for so long a man may live in the profession to inable him sufficiently, that many grow unable to perform what they know before they have attained to the knowledge of what to perform. The knowledge of war being the highest of human things that God suffereth man's understanding to reach unto.

"I have, according to your Excellencie's command, made as many provisions as I can for the shortnesse of the time of such things as cannot be gotten in England, and I could wish I had known of this imployment but some months sooner; for then I could have saved his Majestie somewhat, and have added many things that would very much have advanced the service. For in our profession the preparing of things belonging to the war doth more show a man's experience and judgment then anything else, by reason the first errours are the begetting of many more that afterwards cannot be avoided. Your Excellencie may be pleased to inform yourself of all the exploits and undertakings of our nation, that more of them hath suffered (for the most part) more than through the negligence of provisions, as in victual, munition, boats for Landing, and for the receiving of sick men to keep the rest from infection. In this point of provision it is not good to trust upon a particular man, for gain is a corrupter where the case is not publique, and in so great an expedition one must do with living men as they do with the dead, there must be Overseers and executors to have a true intent well performed.

"I have presumed to write thus much to shew my thankfulnesse to your Excellencie and my great affection to his Majestie's service, whereof I am infinitely possessed. I hear your Excellencie is in France, but my prayers to God are to send you safe and happie home, for the World holds you the Soul of advancing his Majesties affairs, wherein his Honour is ingaged as it is, especially in this action, being the first and a Great One.

"And as for myselff, who am now a creature you have made, I know not what I shall do when I come to England, being your Excellencies shadow only.

"I have here attended the wind, and since I cannot force it, I am glad of the opportunity to send the letters by Sir Henry Vane, who goes over Land, a Passage I am not capable of, having been so long their enemie. But I hope God will send me soon after, leaving Sir W^m^ St. Leger here for the dispatch of that which remains. I have written more particularly to my Lord Conway, which I dare not set down here for fear of being tedious, and knowing his Lordship will give your Excellencie an account of it. And so in all humblenesse and duty I pray God send your Ex^cie^ honour and length of life for his Majesties affairs, and for the happinesse of

"Your Lordship's most humble, faithful,
"and obedient servant,
"ED. CECYLL.

"Hagh, the
3rd of June,
1625."[1]

General Cecil was kept waiting for a fair wind until June 9, when he left the Hague with despatches to Lord

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[1] *Cabala*, pt. I. pp. 132–4.

Conway from Sir. D. Carleton and Sir. W. St. Leger.[1] The latter was left to conclude negotiations with the States and purchase more corslets, firelocks, &c., for the use of the soldiers pressed to serve on board the fleet. At this early stage of preparation for the voyage, the want of money, which was to be so severely felt later on, and which was to paralyse the whole undertaking, was beginning to be felt. St. Leger had bought and paid for some small ordnance, firelocks, "and other utenses belonging to the warres, by General Cecyll's advice and direction," for which he now begged Lord Conway he might be repaid.[2] Poor Lord Conway was soon to be deluged with petitions from all quarters asking for "the sinews of war."

Buckingham had been sent over to France to escort the Queen of England to Dover, where her husband was waiting for her with all the impatience and ardour of a young lover. The Queen's arrival in England was delayed, partly by her mother's serious illness, and partly by the strange conduct of her escort. The inflammable heart of the splendid Buckingham had been captivated by the dazzling beauty of Anne of Austria, the neglected young consort of Louis XIII. Not trying to conceal his feelings, he amazed the French Court by the extravagance of his insolent passion for the Queen of France.[3] And when he arrived at Boulogne with Henrietta Maria and her escort, he pretended that he had received despatches of great importance from his Court, and hastened back to Amiens (where Anne of Austria remained with the Queen-mother), that he might once more see and speak to the object of his unseemly passion.[4]

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[1] Endorsed "the 9 of June, by Generall Cecyll."—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] St. Leger to Conway, June 9.—*S. P. Holland.*

[3] Miss Strickland's *Queens of England*, iv. p. 155.

[4] *Ibid.*

On June 12, Queen Henrietta Maria landed at Dover. On the following morning Charles joined his young bride at Dover Castle, and journeyed with her to Canterbury the same day, where the King and Queen were married, according to the rites of the Church of England, in the great hall of St. Augustine at Canterbury. Next day they set out for London.[1]

Sir Albert Morton, co-Secretary of State with Lord Conway, had accompanied Buckingham to France to help the Duke in a political plan which the latter had suddenly set his heart on. Some clever man had suggested an attack on the Flemish ports by the English fleet. It only needed the co-operation of France and the States in this design to ensure success. Louis XIII. declined to join in any openly aggressive step against Spain. The Duke had better hopes from the States, whose interest it was to drive the Spaniards from the Netherlands, and Sir Albert Morton was despatched to the Hague to urge a joint Anglo-Dutch attack upon Flanders. Morton arrived at Dover late on June 14, and found that Sir Edward Cecil was there.

"The night the King departed from Canterbury I came to Dover," wrote Secretary Morton to Secretary Conway, "but so late that Sir Edward Cecill was in bed before my arrivall, and this morning gone from hence before I could attend him. But what I might have learned from him I shall be sufficiently informed in by my Lord Ambassador and Sir W. St. Leger at the Haghe."[2]

Leaving Morton[3] to pursue his journey to the Hague, on what proved to be a fruitless mission, and leaving Cecil to proceed to London, where he was to hear more of the arduous employment in store for him, we will take a glance at what transpired in the Parliament, which, after many prorogations, met at Westminster on June 18.

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[1] Endymion Porter to his wife, June 14.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] Morton to Conway, June 16.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] Secretary Morton died on September 6 of this year, of a fever, soon after his return from the Netherlands, and Sir John Coke was appointed Secretary in his place.

Parliament was opened by Charles in person, who wore his crown, though he had not yet been publicly crowned. The King's speech was short, and though vague as to the line of policy he intended to pursue, was clear enough as to what he expected from his Parliament. Charles said the late Parliament had engaged him in war, and his subjects were as much bound in honour to give him the necessary supplies for carrying on the war as he was in keeping his engagements. The Lord Keeper (Williams) then rose, and without frightening the Houses by going into figures, briefly stated what the King's chief engagements were.

> "The late King," he said, "only desired the restitution of the Palatinate, and therefore supplied the Low Countries with troops, raised an army for Mansfeld, prepared an invincible navy to scatter the forces of his opposites in the circumference of their own dominions, in which preparation the King, that now is, is so engaged that he had rather go to his grave than not to go on in this design."[1]

Charles's engagements, or debts, for the next twelve months, which he had not the moral courage to disclose to Parliament until the temper of the Houses had been sounded, were :—

The King of Denmark	£360,000
Mansfeld's Troops	240,000
Troops in the Low Countries	100,000
Reinforcements for Ireland	25,000
Fleet and Army to attack Spain	300,000
Total	£1,025,000.[2]

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[1] *Debates in the House of Commons*, 1625 (Camden Society Pub.), p. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, Preface, p. vi.

The main part of the King's opening speech had broadly hinted at a want of supplies, the close of it held out vague hopes that the true religion of the country would be maintained intact. When the Commons met for business on June 21, their first thought was to redress religious grievances, and their last to grant a subsidy.

The anxiety of the Commons with regard to religion was most natural. The marriage of the King to a Roman Catholic Princess caused much uneasiness and many dilemmas, which were to increase as time went on. If Charles kept to the articles of his marriage treaty he would lose the love and esteem of his Protestant subjects. If he broke them he forfeited the affection of his wife, the esteem of his Roman Catholic subjects, and probably the alliance of France. Puritanism was greatly on the increase, and there were many of this superstitious sect who attributed the outbreak of the plague, which was now raging in London, to what they called an idolatrous marriage. When the Commons had finished their debate on religion, and had drawn up a petition on the subject to be presented to Charles, after the Lords had signified their approval of its contents, the important debate on supply occupied the attention of the Commons. Unwilling to give a total denial to their young king, yet at the same time showing their want of confidence in Charles and his advisers, and demanding an account of the last money granted for the recovery of the Palatinate, they contented themselves with granting him two subsidies and petitioned for a recess, owing to the great mortality in London from the plague.

The grant of £140,000 was a mere trifle to the King, deeply pledged as he was to meet engagements for over a million. Unless a sufficiently large sum was voted, the war policy of Charles and Buckingham must be abandoned.

Both had gone too far to abandon the "great design," from which so much was expected by them. Buckingham, the leading spirit in this enterprise, determined to take the bull by the horns, and let the House know what engagements his Majesty had entered into—engagements from which he could not now possibly recede. The person the Duke made choice of to lay the facts before the Commons was Sir John Coke, Commissioner for the Navy, of whom much will be heard later on. On July 8, Coke made his statement to a very empty house. After explaining how the subsidies granted by the last Parliament had been expended, and attributing the breakdown of Mansfeld's expedition to the unavoidable force of circumstances, Coke stated that a sum of nearly £300,000 would be required to equip the fleet now getting ready for sea. Before the astonished members could recover their equanimity, they were further informed that Mansfeld and the King of Denmark would each require £240,000 in the next twelve months to enable them to uphold the Protestant confederacy in Germany. These were not all the King's engagements, but enough to lay before the Commons in one day, and in order to shame the House into a more generous spirit than had hitherto distinguished it, Coke wound up his speech by declaring that the King, when Prince, had borrowed £20,000 to advance the good cause, that the Lord Admiral had engaged all his estate, and other ministers had advanced £50,000 for the same purpose. "Even the establishment of his Majesty on his royal throne," concluded Coke, "the peace of Christendom and the state of religion depend upon the fleet."[1]

Leaving these unpleasant revelations to sink into the hearts of the Commons, the subject was for the present wisely dropped, and, on July 11, the two Houses were prorogued until August 1, when they were to meet again at Oxford.

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[1] *Debates in the House of Commons*, pp. 57–8.

The plague continued to make great ravages in London, and the metropolis was by no means a desirable residence. Sir Edward Cecil let his house in the Strand to the Dutch ambassador for £140 a year, and took lodgings at an apothecary's close by.[1] As he was not a member of this first Parliament of Charles I., it is probable that as soon as his business was transacted he went to Wimbledon, from which place the latter of the two following letters was written:—

SIR E. CECIL TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

"MY MOST EXCELLENT LORD,

"The occasion of my boldnesse in presenting your Excellency with these lines, is for that, contrary to my expectation, I hear that there is a Commission a drawing to make Sir Horace Vere a Baron of England. It is strange to me at this time to hear it, for that I know not what worth there is more in him, than in those, that are equal in profession and before him in birth.[2] If your Ex. have made choice of me to be your second in this journey of so much charge and expectation, and to make me lesse than I was, what courage shall I have to do you service? or what honour will redound to your Excellencie. But although I write it, yet I cannot believe it, for that I know you of that judgment and noblenesse that you will rather add to your faithful servants, although they beg it not, then to disgrace them and make them lesse. Therefore I will continue my belief and rest,

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[1] *Chamberlain to Carleton*, June 25. *Court and Times of Charles I.*, i. p. 36.

[2] On his mother's side, Edward Cecil was descended from a family almost as illustrous and ancient as the Veres. But a descent through the female line can never, in my opinion, vie with a long and unbroken descent in the male line. Were it otherwise, then was Cecil's blood as blue as Horace Vere's, for Cecil's great grandmother on his mother's side was Dorothy de Vere, granddaughter of John de Vere, 12th Earl of Oxford.

"Your Ex^{cie} most humble
"and obedient servant,
"ED. CECYLL.

"19 of July,
1625."[1]

SIR E. CECIL TO LORD CONWAY.

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,

"Since the appointmen^{t} yo^{r} Lo^{pp} made for o^{r} meeting at Windesore I have attended all the Removes of the Courte, wth the rest of the Colonells and officers w^{c}h yo^{r} Lo^{pp} did appointe to waite there, and when I was coming to Okinge [Woking], I understood the king was to come to Nonsuch, whether I went, and afterwardes to Richmond, but in neither place was it my good happ to meete w^{t}h yo^{r} Lo^{pp}, yet notwthstanding I spoke wth my Lord Duke who hath referrd all our meetinges till the Councell comes to Oxenforde, and because I am uncertaine of the day and unwilling that my diligence should importune to much my Lord Duke and yo^{r} Lo^{pp}, I humbly intreate yo^{r} Lo^{pp} that you would know of his Grace the day when it is his pleasure that my selfe and the Colonells should attend him there. In the meane time I beseech yo^{r} Lo^{pp} to give me leave, as you have done by the memorialls that yo^{r} Lo^{pp} hath by you to be thought on, to gaine time, w^{ch} is the principall for the managing of a warre, that is to remember yo^{r} Lo^{pp} that the Troupes now at Plimmouth, and the officers that are lately dispatcht by me, w^{ch} are 42 Capt^{ns}, 21 Lieu^{tes}, and 29 Ensignes may not want mony whereby they may disband, make the charge unprofitable, and the officers miserable who are poore enough already; likewise that there may be meanes thought uppon for the 2,000 that are in the Lowe Countries, to be dispatcht away in regard of the uncertaintie of the wind and the missinge of the Convoy w^{ch} the States 20 shippes may give them, that otherwise wilbe hard for them to find; likewise to gaine w^{ch} is much spent already. I do also recomend to yo^{r} Lo^{pps} favor that the presse for the 3,000 men might be hastned, w^{ch} will require some time, in the performance of w^{ch} it will serve to awaken those doubtfull spirittes that do thinke in regard of the slownesse of the proceedinges and the latenesse of the yeare it is impossible the voyage should hould. Likewise that it may please yo^{r} Lo^{pp} we may have a press for Drumme[r]s and Surgeons,[1] and that there may be more allowance for Victualls for the officers and traine of the Ordnance, w^{ch} are at the least some 3 or 400 more then the 10,000 w^{ch} are already provided for. Lastly, I humbly beseech yo^{r} Lo^{pp} that you would favor me so much as to let me know what newes you heare from S^{r} John Ogle concerning himselfe and the armie there, and that it may please yo^{r} Lo^{pp}, if you shall thinke it fitting that there may be letters written weekely, whereby yo^{r} Lo^{pp} and my selfe may understand how thinges may be the better prepared for, w^{ch} hetherto for my owne part I have beene altogether ignorant of, and that likewise my Comission and instructions may be thought uppon the better to gaine time. And so in all due respect I humbly kisse yo^{r} Lo^{pps} handes and rest,

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[1] *Cabala*, pt. i. p. 134.

"Yo^{r} Lo$^{pp's}$ most humble servant,
"Ed. Cecyll.

"Wimbledon this
"xxixth of July,
"1625.

"May it please yo^{r} Lo^{pp}
All the Colonells and officers dine wth
me this day where we shall drinke
yo^{r} Lo^{pps} health."[2]

Amongst those "gentlemen of fortune" who applied for some post aboard the great fleet, none were more solicitous for employment than Thomas Lord Cromwell.[3] This noble

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[1] It would seem that very little trouble was taken to press competent surgeons for the fleet, as we find from a certificate signed by the Mayor of New Sarum, on September 4, that a certain Wm. Goodridge of that city had been pressed to serve as surgeon in the army at Plymouth, and that, "he was sixty years old, afflicted with stone and gout, and had not sufficient skill in surgery for his Majesty's service."—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] *S. P. Dom*, 1625, vol. iv. No. 143.

[3] Thomas Cromwell, 4th Baron Cromwell, was created Viscount Lecale, in the Irish peerage, November 22, 1624, and Earl of Ardglass in the same

"adventurer" had accepted the colonelcy of an English regiment in Count Mansfeld's last disastrous expedition, and the miseries he underwent in that employment made him move heaven and earth to get home again. After the capture of Breda, Mansfeld's skeleton regiments had been sent to North Holland, to get rid of them for a time, as they were utterly unable to proceed to the Palatinate. So extenuated was Mansfeld's force by death and desertion, that ten days after the taking of Breda, Lord Cromwell's whole regiment did not number 220.[1] Starvation and want of pay followed the remnant of Mansfeld's 12,000 to their new destination.

"We live here most miserably," wrote Lord Cromwell to Lord Conway, "and I protest to God were it not for dead horses and catts our armey had perished since our coming to Haffin (?) which is our Leaguer. All the English that is left are 600, which are put under Lieutenant Coronell Hopton's command . . . . they that know Mansfield best say that he never payd any man."

Lord Cromwell then goes on to ask for employment.

"By sea or land good my Lord send me, for to live with Dutch I can but lerne to drincke, which already I have known to[o] well." [2]

Whilst Mansfeld's troops were starving in Holland, the 8,000 pressed men, who had arrived at Plymouth the end of May from all quarters of England, were in not much better condition. Colonel Sir John Ogle had been sent to command the troops in the western district, with the rank of Colonel-General, which rank seems to have been equivalent to a Brigadier-General. His headquarters were at Plymouth, and he had to make preparations for

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country in 1645. He was descended from the famous Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex (minister to Henry VIII.), through that nobleman's son George, created Lord Cromwell 1540.

[1] Cromwell to Carleton, June 7.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] Cromwell to Conway, June $\frac{17}{27}$.—*S. P. Holland.*

the arrival and billeting of the 8,000 pressed men, who were driven like sheep to the slaughter, to the great seaport of the west, from all the neighbouring shires. In those days Plymouth was not a very large place, and the sudden influx of such a number of recruits and sailors was a grievous burden to the townspeople, who had to lodge and feed them, for the allowance of half-a-crown a week to each man was, even in those days, utterly inadequate to feed able-bodied men, who had brought nothing with them from their country homes except keen appetites. Plymouth soon became so full, that accommodation had to be found for the incoming soldiers in the villages around Plymouth, some of which were twenty miles from the seaport.

A worthy Devonian, who flourished at the time of which we treat, and whose journal has been handed down to us, stigmatises soldiers in his diary as one of the "Plagues of England."[1] This is not astonishing when we consider what rogues and vagabonds were pressed to serve on board a fleet, the destination of which they were completely ignorant of. Torn from their wives and families at a moment's notice, and marched off with nothing save the clothes they stood in, which in many cases consisted of nothing but rags, or such light apparel as scarcely served for decency, was it surprising that on the line of march gratuities were offered to the officers conducting such recruits to Plymouth to march further on, that no demands might be made during the halt for hose, shoes, shirts, and conduct money.[2]

The want of suitable clothing would have mattered little had there been, as there certainly ought, supplies of clothing waiting for the recruits at Plymouth. But there was not, and the officers who had the disagreeable task of bringing these ragged companies to their rendezvous, had but little money to supply their own wants, as their pay, like the soldiers, was in arrears. That veteran campaigner, Sir John Ogle, who had seen every phase of a military life, and who, with only one eye, could discern latent soldierly qualities in the most unlikely looking recruits, saw nothing of a very hopeful nature in the newly pressed men who came pouring into Plymouth. "This is a knotty and cumbersome business," wrote Ogle to Lord Conway;[1] referring to the hard task expected from him of disciplining, drilling, clothing, and making soldiers of the troops put under his command, many of whom were old, lame and sick.[2] How different were these men from the volunteers who filled the ranks of the British regiments in the service of the States. They had enlisted of their own free will, knowing they would be well clothed, well fed, and well paid by the Dutch Government. The Plymouth pressed men had been forced into a service of which they neither knew nor cared for the object that called for their services. The sympathy at one time so strong among the people of England, for the disinherited King and Queen of Bohemia, had been for ever crushed by the miserable fate that had befallen the 12,000 British soldiers, who had left England's shores only a few months before to reconquer the Palatinate. The more Ogle saw of the new levies, the less he liked them.

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[1] *Walter Yonge's Diary*, p. 82, note.

[2] *Ibid.* The king having no money, the "coat and conduct money" for the pressed men had to be paid by the people under promise of future payment.

"They can no way be made serviceable without supply of necessaries," wrote the general commanding at Plymouth to Lord

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[1] June 12, 1625.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] *Ibid.*

Conway, "such as shirts, stockings, shoes, breeches, &c., especially the three first, whereof the want is general through most part of the said troops. The number of lame, impotent and unable men unfitt for actual service is very great . . . . wholly to decline this business (and of my self) being employed in it by his gracious Majesty, I dare not . . . . how to go forward in it with assurance and resolution I know not, the work is so knotty and full of incumbrance. I trust you will consider of me, and as I will do my best, so you will do the best for me, which I think is that you will bring me fairly off."[1]

It must have been an Augean task indeed, that made such a hard-working soldier as Ogle desire, at this early stage of the business, to retire from his post. His judgment however was not at fault, for, as time went on, his work became more complicated and hopeless of a satisfactory issue.

Buckingham's original plan of sending 2,000 recruits to Holland, in exchange for 2,000 picked British veterans, had been adhered to, despite the refusal of the States to accede to the proposal. General Cecil had distinctly told the Duke and Lord Conway in his letters to them from the Hague that the States had declined this exchange, but he hoped to bring them to a new resolution. Before waiting to hear what this resolution was, 2,000 raw recruits pressed chiefly in Lancashire and the wilds of Northumberland, were brought to Hull and despatched by sea to the Brill, under the command of Captain Courtenay, one of Cecil's own officers. This gallant officer had shown great ability and bravery in the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, in 1622, and was pre-eminently fitted for any service requiring ability and resolution, yet did he find the task of keeping 2,000 Lancashire and Northumbrian roughs in order, many of whom had only one single garment to cover their nakedness, almost too much for him. He had to apply to Lord Conway for the services of another officer to help him in his labour, and, accordingly, Lieutenant Chaworth was sent to Hull.[1] At last Courtenay got his unruly troops on board ship and sailed for Brill, where they arrived on June the 19th.

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[1] Ogle to Conway, June 18.—*S. P. Dom.*

> "Captain Courtney is come hither with our Hull troops," wrote Sir D. Carleton to Lord Conway, "when we were in hopes they might be countermanded upon my Lord Generall Cecill's arrival."[2]

The contrariety of the wind had delayed Cecil's arrival in England, and the troops were despatched before he could make his report to Secretary Conway. It almost looked as if Buckingham meant to thrust his raw levies upon the Dutch by main force, and carry out his plan of procuring 2,000 seasoned veterans.

The day after the arrival of the English recruits, the States-General came to a final decision in the matter of lending officers and men to go with the fleet. They agreed to allow General Cecil, Colonel Sir Edward Harwood, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Edward Conway, seven captains, eighteen lieutenants, and six ensigns, to absent themselves from their service for the space of three months, and enter the service and pay of the King of England, their places and commands in the States'army being kept open for them. It was specially stipulated in this agreement that these officers did not take any of their soldiers with them.[1] Such was the substance of the resolution arrived at by the States-General, a copy of which resolution was sent to London by Sir W. St. Leger, who, having now finished his work in Holland, returned to England where his services were required.

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[1] "Lieut. Chaworth came in seasonable time, for I never met with such unruly men, especially those from Northumberland, who were brought for the most part naked save their coats." Courtenay to Conway, June ?—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] June 20.—*S. P. Holland.*

On August 1st, the two Houses of Parliament reassembled at Oxford; the King and court taking up their residence at Woodstock.

On the meeting of Parliament, the Commons renewed their complaints on the grievances of the nation, the chief of which was religion. On August 4th the King came to Oxford, from Woodstock, and summoned the Houses to come before him in Christchurch Hall. Once more did Charles make an appeal for funds to support him in the coming war. Lord Conway and Sir John Coke addressed the Houses on behalf of the Crown, and urged the necessity of granting his Majesty a sufficient supply for sending out the great fleet, which was to re-establish the power of Great Britain in Europe and refill an exhausted Exchequer, thus eventually repaying the outlay expended on it, cent. per cent. It is well known that half confidences are worse than none. The Commons were still kept in ignorance as to the ulterior object in sending out the fleet, and the actual sum required to enable Charles to fulfil his engagements, which they disowned. The debates that followed on the two days succeeding the King's, Conway's, and Coke's speeches, were full of mistrust of Charles's favourite and ministers. Sir Robert Philips, in a long and incisive speech against the Government, said he would not argue whether the fleet were best to go or stay; whether leagues abroad be apt to support such great actions.

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[1] Agreement by the States (in French) June 20.—*S. P. Holland.* See also a work in Dutch, published by the Utrecht Historical Society (*Historisch Gezelschap gevestigd te Utrecht*) *Werken* . . . *Nieuwe Reeks* (Utrecht, 1863, &c.), iv. pp. 13–14.

"The [French] match hath not yet brought the French to join with us in a defensive war," concluded Philips, "or any longer than conduceth to their own advantage. The best way to secure ourselves is to suppress the Papists here."[1]

On August 8th, Buckingham made his appearance in Christchurch Hall to make a statement on behalf of the King and Government, of which body he himself was the central and leading figure. He began by throwing a sop to the Commons. This sop was the information that the King fully granted what had been demanded of him in their petition of religion. After this he entered into a defence of his foreign policy, and described the state of affairs on the Continent in quite a new light to Parliament. In answer to a charge made against him in a former speech that he had acted without the advice of the Council of War, or the Privy Council, the Duke utterly denied the fact, and said all he had done had been by the advice of those Councils. Then came a vague statement about the great fleet now preparing, and the utter absurdity of some members' suggestions that the fleet was not intended to sail.[2] Buckingham concluded his declaration by exhorting his hearers to trust the King and give him the means to maintain the war.

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[1] *Debates in House of Commons*, p. 82.

[2] The mistrust evinced by the Commons as to Buckingham's intentions regarding the fleet was greatly due to an unpleasant affair which at this time was exciting general indignation. It seems that King James, shortly before his death, promised to lend six ships to Louis of France to be employe against the Genoese. When the time arrived for the delivery of these ships to the French, Louis suddenly discovered they would be more useful if sent against the Rochelle Huguenots then in rebellion against him. He prevailed on Charles, by Buckingham's means, to allow him to employ the ships as he pleased, and accordingly they were sent to Dieppe under the command of Captain Pennington. A suspicion arose among the officers and crews that

Whatever good effects might have resulted from Buckingham's apparently honest exposition of his policy were marred by a statement made by Sir Robert Mansell, Vice-Admiral of England, in the debate which took place in the House a day or two after. Mansell, as a member of the Council of War, protested against the Duke's assertion that the Council of War had given their consent to the levy of 10,000 soldiers, and declared they were ignorant of the destination of the fleet.

All efforts to induce the Commons to grant a large supply having failed, Charles determined to dissolve the Parliament. Sir Robert Heath, the Solicitor-General, made a brave stand on behalf of Buckingham and the Court party before the fatal hour of dissolution arrived. He informed the House that the late king ordered the fleet to be got ready in the previous December, and in the same month Mansell, Sir John Coke and Captain Love, received commands to confer frequently with Buckingham, which they did, examining maps and debating together how they might best annoy the King of Spain. The Lords of the Council were often called in to these conferences. Lord Chichester had left papers at his death to show how far he agreed with them. Lords Brooke and Grandison could testify they were consulted in the matter.

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they were to be employed against the Huguenots, and they weighed anchor and returned to the Downs. Pennington sent word of the mutiny and its cause to Buckingham, who sent an express order for the ships to return to Dieppe. The King sent a similar order. Pennington was obliged to obey the command, and the ships were delivered up to the French in Dieppe harbour, but the seamen and their officers all deserted, utterly refusing to serve against Rochelle.

"Divers plans were propounded and presented to the king, but Sir Robert Mansell," continued Heath, "was full of meditation upon his own devices. In February, he (Mansell) gave over upon discontent, and there are those who can witness that he said if he could not have his own desire he would meddle no more in the business." Heath concluded by saying that "yesterday I met with Sir Edward Cecil,[1] who knoweth the design, and upon his life and honour, it is both very probable and not newly thought upon, but heretofore continued [contrived] by the Prince of Orange."[2]

Mansell had barely time to give some rebutting evidence when the hour for dissolution arrived. The business of the House came to an end by a declaration of the Commons addressed to his Majesty, in which they expressed their loyalty and affection for his sacred person, and inferred in a delicate manner that they would be willing at the proper time, when their grievances were redressed, to vote him necessary supplies in a parliamentary way.

Thus ended the first Parliament of Charles I. and it ended in a victory for the Commons. By declining to authorise the sending out of the great fleet, or granting a supply to victual and equip it, Parliament effectually crippled the resources of the projectors of the great design, and hung a millstone round the neck of the unfortunate man who was to command one of the largest fleets that had ever spread sail upon salt water.

Previous to the meeting of Parliament at Oxford, it had been a settled thing that Buckingham should go with the fleet as commander-in-chief by sea and land, his deputy being Sir E. Cecil, who was to be the marshal of the field. It was on this understanding that Cecil had accepted the command. It was not till about the first week in August, when Cecil and his brother colonels waited on the Duke at Woodstock, that Cecil was offered the supreme command of the fleet by Buckingham, who had suddenly decided not to go. Cecil was placed in an awkward predicament. To refuse would be to offend the man who had given him an important command in preference to all others, and it would be throwing away the chance of future preferment and advancement. To accept the high command now offered him would place Cecil in a position far above many of his superiors in rank and give him the power which his ambitious soul made him at all times covet. This latter consideration, if no other, doubtless had much to do with Cecil's acceptance of a command for which, as a soldier and landsman, he was naturally unfitted. Blind to after consequences, he let his noble patron shift the heavy load of responsibility on to his shoulders and saddle him with a command which even Buckingham, the most sanguine political and warlike gambler in England, had begun to find too onerous for himself. The die was cast. General Cecil was introduced to the King, at Woodstock, by the Duke, as the commander-in-chief of the great fleet now getting ready for sea. To do the Duke justice, he begged Charles not to judge Cecil by the success of the expedition, but by the care and diligence the general showed in his very responsible post.[1] This was not from any mistrust of Cecil's ability, but because the Duke foresaw that the refusal of Parliament to grant supplies would cause the fleet to go to sea both badly victualled and badly equipped in all necessary respects, and so materially lessen the chance of success.

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[1] Cecil, it will be remembered, was one of the Council of War.

[2] *Debates in the Commons*, pp. 122–3.

On August 13, an order was sent to Nicholas (Buckingham's secretary) to deliver a duplicate of the Duke's patent of Lieut.-General of the fleet to Sir Edward Cecil.[1] The Duke retained for himself the pompous title of generalissimo of the fleet, much to the amusement of the sailors.[2] His commission from Frederick, King of Bohemia, was proved to be a mere empty form, as Cecil was entirely ignorant such a commission had ever been granted.[3] So much for the value of the King's and Buckingham's assertion that the main object of the fleet was to advance the cause of Frederick and his family.

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[1] Wimbledon to Buckingham, February 27, 1626.—*S. P. Dom.*

The new commander of the fleet had not yet been to Plymouth and seen the troops he was to command. Their state and the wants of the fleet were still unknown to him, and it is not to be supposed Buckingham had informed Cecil of these things, when he asked him to go as Admiral of the whole fleet. Lord Conway would also keep his own counsel, so that Cecil and his officers left Oxford in ignorance of what was in store for them, beyond the bare facts that Parliament had refused to grant supplies, or sanction the setting out of the great fleet. "The General and Colonels of the fleet have been here these two days," wrote Sir F. Nethersole to Sir D. Carleton, from Woodstock, on Aug. 14, "and they reckon to be going to-morrow towards Plymouth." [4]

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[1] Endorsement on the cover of a letter from Mr. Fotherley to Nicholas, dated August 13.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] Dr. Gardiner's *History of England*, vi. p. 10.

[3] Sir D. Carleton, who had procured a commission from the King of Bohemia for Buckingham in May, had the curiosity in after years to ask Cecil if he had also received a commission from Frederick, appointing him (Cecil) general of the fleet in 1625. This is the answer Carleton received—"The Lord Duke was generall by his M$^{tie's}$ command, and had thereby absolute power to transferr his command and whole authoritie to any deputie. Hee offered to have procured it mee from his Ma^{tie}, but, because I would not lessen his honour, I tooke it from himselfe and had a deputation to command in chiefe as Lieutenant Generall and Marshall. But for commission from the King of Bohemia I never heard of anie such thing, nor had other then this." Viscount Wimbledon to Viscount Dorchester, March 16, 1629.—*S. P. Dom.*

[4] *S. P. Dom.*

Despite the obstruction of Parliament as regarded his foreign policy, Charles had continued to carry on his warlike preparations all the month of July. We find him sending a request through his ambassador at the Hague to the Prince of Orange, to the effect that Colonel the Earl of Essex and Sir John Proude might have leave to come to England and go with the fleet.[1] The Prince of Orange was at first inclined to refuse leave to both these officers,[2] but at length granted them permission. Colonel Ralph Hopton had already arrived in England,[3] and Lord Cromwell's earnest entreaties for leave to quit Mansfeld's service and go with the fleet were soon to be hearkened to.[4] The services of Sir John Burroughs, Sir Edward Conway, Sir Edward Harwood, Sir Charles Rich, Sir Henry Bruce, Sir George Blundell, Sir W. St. Leger, and other gallant officers who had served in the Low Countries, had been already engaged for the King's service. They had left their several employments in full and perfect trust that their sovereign would pay them for their coming services.

Since the death of James the four new English regiments, in the service of the States, but in the pay of the King of England, had been very irregularly paid, and we find the colonels of these regiments writing frequently to the Council of War about their lack of pay.[5] These appeals produced no results, and the King's coffers being almost empty, at last the paymaster of the King's forces in the Netherlands declined to advance any more money for these four new regiments.[1] The credit of the King of Great Britain was, at this early stage of his reign, at a very low ebb indeed.

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[1] Carleton to Lord Conway, July 17.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] Carleton to Conway, July. ?—*S. P. Holland.*

[3] On July 20 Hopton landed at Deal. Hopton to Lords—? July 23.—*S. P. Dom.*

[4] Lord Cromwell had again written to Lord Conway on July 12 asking for leave to return home.—*S. P. Holland.*

[5] See letters signed by Lord Essex and the three other colonels commanding the new English regiments to the Council of War, dated June 5, 20, and 27. —*S. P. Holland.*

That wonderful scene-shifter, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who had played fast and loose with the interests of the King and Queen of Bohemia ever since they had appealed to the British Court to uphold their falling fortunes, felt himself bound, now that he had resigned the command of that fleet which he had assured Frederick was to be sent forth as the avenger of the ex-King's wrongs, to make some statement to the royal exiles, assuring them of his good faith. "Tell the Queen of Bohemia" wrote this plausible courtier to the English ambassador at the Hague, "that when shee thinkes me farthest off, I am then nerest her service."[2]

Whether the Queen of Bohemia took any comfort in this message, or merely accepted it for what it was worth, she certainly hoped great things from the expedition Buckingham was preparing to send out. "The great fleet is almost ready to goe out," wrote Elizabeth joyfully, on July 26, to her faithful servant, Sir Thomas Roe. But M. de Rusdorff, Frederick's ambassador in England, wrote in anything but a hopeful strain to his master regarding this great fleet and the important results it was to achieve.

> "The summer is almost gone, the ships are only victualled for six weeks, and the troops and officers who command them are of such a kind that one cannot look for great things from them," wrote Rusdorff, from Southampton, to his master, "and," continued the ambassador, with the prophetic vision of a reasoning creature, "all the other circumstances of the case being taken into

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[1] See certificate from Julian Calandrini, paymaster to the four new English regiments, dated June 27.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] July 21, 1625.—*S. P. Holland.*

consideration, lead me to conclude that the troubles in Germany will not be set right by this fleet."[1]

Rusdorff had already tried to persuade Charles to send the 10,000 land soldiers, pressed for service with the fleet to the assistance of the King of Denmark, who was very hard pressed by Tilly in Germany.[2] But Charles had set his heart on humbling Philip of Spain, and the Dutch who were to co-operate with him in this enterprise, sent commissioners to Southampton, where the King was residing, who took good care to fan the anti-Spanish flame. On September 8, the Treaty of Southampton[3] was signed and ratified. By this treaty the States-General entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with England, and agreed to contribute one ship for every four sent out by England against Spain.

On the dissolution of Parliament, Charles determined to issue Privy Seals for borrowing money from his subjects. This step was taken with the consent of the Privy Council, who approved of the continuance of the preparations for sending out the fleet.[4] Had the supply which this forced loan was to produce been forthcoming, when the troops assembled at Plymouth the end of May, they would have presented a very different appearance the first week in September, when their commander, Sir Edward Cecil, and the colonels who were to have the charge of them, arrived at Plymouth. As it was, the Privy Seals were issued too late to benefit the fleet and those on board it, "for the fleet was at sea before a single penny of the loan came into the King's hands."[1] Charles certainly received a large sum during the months of August and September, as his Queen's dowry was paid into the Exchequer, but there were so many urgent calls on his purse, besides the fleet, that only an inadequate sum was at liberty to fit out that most expensive of all expeditions, a large joint sea and land armament.

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[1] Rusdorff to Frederick $\frac{\text{10 Sept.}}{\text{31 Aug.}}$, *Mémoires et négociations de M. de Rusdorff*, i. p. 609

[2] *Ibid.* p. 611.

[3] A draft copy of this treaty is given in *S. P. Holland*, dated August 25, 1625.

[4] Dr. Gardiner's *History of England* vi. p. 3.

Christian of Denmark, Count Mansfeld, and the English regiments in the Low Countries were all clamouring for pay. Even the 2,000 men sent from Hull in June, to Holland, under Captain Courtenay, had lived on the British ambassador's credit.[2] These poor wretches, fresh from the plough and the coal fields of the north, instead of learning their drill and the meaning of the word discipline, were cooped up in small vessels at Rotterdam, waiting for a fair wind to carry them to Plymouth, where their equally untaught and undisciplined comrades were assembled, clamouring for food and clothes and, getting little of both given them, helped themselves to their neighbours' property when they had the chance.

> "I have had no small trouble with 2000 soldiers sent hither out of the North of England," wrote Sir D. Carleton to Sir F. Nethersole, secretary to the Queen of Bohemia, "to be exchanged with the States, for so many old musquettiers, which the weakness of the States' army, especially in the English nation, could not admit, and having understood his Majesty's intention to use these 2000 in the service of the fleet, I caused them three weeks since to be embarqued at Rotterdam, where they have layn ever since on board, attending the wind, but I hope now they will get away. The wind being become reasonable good, and their convoy being three men of warre of the States with all things else ready for their

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[1] Dr. Gardiner's *History of England*, vi. p. 3.

[2] Carleton to Lord Conway, August 19.—*S. P. Holland.*

journey to Plimmouth, these three men of warre being part of the twenty which are to join with his Majesty's fleet, and have for the most part bin kept untill now on this side of the sea by contrary winds."[1]

When these ragged half starved men arrived at Plymouth, the end of August, they considerably added to the confusion and insubordination there reigning, bringing new dilemmas to the general commanding in those parts.[2]

Sir Edward Cecil arrived at Plymouth on September 5, and took over the command of the troops from Sir John Ogle. "Yesterday the Lord Marshall caused his commission to be [publickly] read,"[3] wrote Ogle to Lord Conway on September 6. For some weeks previous to Cecil's arrival, Ogle had been soliciting Lord Conway for leave to retire from his present employment. Buckingham being well aware of Ogle's military capacities had offered him the important post of Colonel-General of the troops to go with the fleet.[4] Even this post, the next highest to Cecil's, who was Lord Marshal and Admiral, did not tempt the man who had seen so much of the troops he was to command. When Ogle found the Duke had decided not to go with the fleet he had no compunction in declining the appointment offered him.

"Sir W. St. Leger hath shewed me a commission from my Lord the Duke directed to me. I confesse with title and stile too farr above my meritt or capacitye if I looked that waye," wrote Ogle to Conway on Sept. 6, "I humblye thanke his Grace for his soe good opinion of mee, and will praie for him and the advancement of all his noble dessines, but since it hath pleased God to turne my bodie from action by weakness and present infirmitye, as he hath longe since my minde from ambition and desire of imployment, I humblye intreat your noble Lordshipp to fashion my retreat. . . . . having had my share pretilye well in the travile of this business."[1]

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[1] $\frac{20}{30}$ August.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] Ogle to Conway, August 30 and 31.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] *S. P. Dom.*

[4] Ogle, referring to the Duke's offering to appoint him Colonel-General of the troops on board the fleet, said, he did not wish to go, unless the Duke went in person, "who told me if he went," continues Ogle, in his letter to Secretary Conway on this subject, "he would not be unwilling to have my company, and in such an obedience I shall be ever ready to hazard my life." August 23.—*S. P. Dom.*

These last few words convey a world of meaning. However weak in body Ogle was, it is evident he had good reasons for not wishing to go with the fleet. He had but one eye, but that was a soldier's eye, and it showed him many things to discourage his wish, if he ever had any, of a command on board the great fleet. On September 9, Sir John Ogle wrote to the Duke desiring leave to retire from the army altogether and adopt a course of life more to his taste.[2] His resignation was accepted, and the veteran soldier entered the Church, where he by no means showed that lack of ambition which he describes to Lord Conway in the above letter.[3]

On his arrival at Plymouth Cecil found his hands full of work. In his double capacity of General and Admiral he had a multiplicity of arduous duties to perform. Getting the 10,000 soldiers ready for sea, putting them into regiments and selecting their officers, would have been work enough for any man, but, besides all this, he had to make out a list—and a very long one it was—of the wants of the fleet, agitate for fresh troops to fill up vacancies, and for money to pay them. As Deputy-Admiral, under Buckingham, Cecil had to see to the clearance of the

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[1] Ogle to Conway, September 6.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] *S. P. Dom.*

[3] "There is a talk that Sir John Ogle shall be Bishop of St. David's." Mead to Stuteville, October 14, 1626. *Court and Times*, i. p. 158.

English Channel of all pirates and privateers. The following letter from the Lord High Admiral greeted Cecil a day or two after his arrival at Plymouth.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO SIR E. CECIL.

"MY LORD,

"I have intelligence that about 18 sayle of Dunkerke shipps are passed out and gonne towards the West, keepinge on the ffrench Coast in their passage to Spaine, I pray yo^{r} Lo^{p} therefore (callinge together a Councell) to advise of a good number of good shippes, and to send them to sea on the ffrench side, to see if they canne meet with those Dunkerkers as they passe, w^{ch} if they canne doe, I pray give them their order to assaulte, subdue, and take them, if by anie hostile or other safe meanes they possible canne, and bringe them and their shipps into some of his Ma^{ties} Ports to be kept safe till further order; on notice of ther p'ceedinge I leave it to y^{r} Lo^{p} to give such Instruccons to such comaunders of the shipps as you shall imploy in this service, as on advise with some of the principall officers, and Comaunders with you, shalbe thought fitt, and most p^{r}bable to meete with, and to subdue these Dunkerkers. And so I rest,

"Yo^{r} Lo^{pps} verie Loving friend,
"GEORGE BUCKINGHAM.

"South'ton [Southampton]
"Sep. 4, 1625.[1]

"To S^{r} Edward Cecill, Lo.: Marshall
of his Ma^{ties} Army and Deputie Adm^{ll}
of the ffleete."

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1625, vol. v. No. 102. By the articles of the Treaty of Southampton, the Dutch agreed to blockade the Flemish ports, whilst the Anglo-Dutch fleet did the same by the Spanish ports on the coast of Spain. It appears that ten privateers had managed to slip through the blockading squadron off Dunkirk, and get away, thus causing considerable uneasiness to English mariners. Cecil sent out Sir Samuel Argall in search of the enemy, who did not succeed in capturing a single pirate or privateer, but brought back, after a seven days' cruise, some French and Dutch prizes whose captains were suspected of Spanish proclivities. Dr. Gardiner's *History of England*, vi. p. 12.

The unsatisfactory state of the troops, and the backwardness of the preparations for sending out the fleet, are best described in General Cecil's own words.

SIR E. CECIL TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

"MY GRATIOUS LORD,

"Before I received your Ex^{cies} letter I had taken order for an enquirie about the defectes of the Fleete; especiallie in matter of victuall, the foundacon of this and all expeditions, and with what speede the computacon can possiblie bee made, y^{r} Ex^{lie} shall have it, according to your directions. I cannot thinke but that the wantes are manie, begotten out of so long a peace. And if the journeie begett nothing but experience, yet the cost is not cast awaie.

"I was not deceived when I asked 2000 new pressed men; for 3000 I could well employ heere, to the good of the Armie, his Ma^{ties} Honour, and your Ex^{ties} contentment. For there are manie of our Men that want clothes, the furnishing whereof, will bee chargeable to his Ma^{tie}; and without beeing furnished, they will not bee able to put to sea, this winter journeie. Besides there are manie of our number wanting; and those wee have will wast dailie by runnawaies, by sicknes, and by those that will hide themselves from us, when we shall come to ship the Armie. Of the 2000 that went into the Low-Countries, there are come back to us but 1500, and of that 1500, 500 are sick. If it will please your Ex^{cie} to send mee a presse, for 500 men more, heere, about Plimmouth, I shall use them verie fitlie for his Ma^{ties} service; the Gentlemen having made mee the offer themselves, the place beeing populous enough; and they will be fitter for mee so neare hand, where I maie have the choise of taking and leaving; and neede requires it, since we can carrie but 10,000 Men, officers and all, of which, if wee want wee cannot bee supplied, but must manie waies bee still subject to diminish.

"Now that wee are to draw the Armie together, I humblie beseech your Ex^{cie}, that we maie want no moneie, for I found that want heere much complained of, and where it continues so, there will be no command, nor the meanes to husband thinges, as otherwise wee might doe for his Ma^{ties} service. I find the Armie, so ill in that point, and busines by that meanes so out of order, that (I feare) I shall not with all my care and paines, bring the Troupes into order, fitt for your Ex^{cies} view, yet, theise 10 or 15 daies; for hitherto, they have lost their time, lying so farre asunder, unarmed; besides the charge that might have beene saved, and the Armie much better, which, had I beene heere at the beginning, I would have undertaken.

"The £20,000 ordained for the stock will bee much lessened, when 3000 for beare shall bee paid out, and 3000 for imprest moneie, which your Ex^{cie} hath ordained, for the high officers of the field. And an Armie is of that Nature, that will still bee requiring of many necessaries, wherof the occasion Doth not presentlie show it selfe; and at our Returne there will bee manie wantes, that will call miserablie upon us.

"I shall be glad to receive your Ex^{cies} order, touching our Lordes Voluntarie, and whome your Ex^{cie} will appoint for Vice-admirall and Rere-admirall.

"The impedimentes that will most hinder our proceedinges, (I take it) will bee want of moneie, and the revictualling of our shippes. For they speake of three weekes, before the beare will be readie. For moneie (in my judgment) it is now a verie convenient time for privie seales, now that the Armie and Fleete are readie to depart, when it cannot bee unseasonablie done, to trie men's affections to the cause of their countrie that doubted the action would never goe on; humblie beseeching your Ex^{cie}, that my Brother Cooke's [Coke's] £1000 maie be the first accepted of. And so in all humble manner, I rest,

"your Ex^{cies}
"most faithful & obedient
"servant & soldier,
"ED. CECYLL."

"Plimmouth, the 6th of
Sept.: 1625."[1]

SIR E. CECIL TO LORD CONWAY.

"MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

"I hold it my part and dutie, in regard of your place, and the care your Lo^{p} hath of this employment, besides my particular obligacon^{s}, to advertise your Lo^{p} how I have found the Armie and mine owne proceeding.

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[1] *S. P. Dom*, 1625, vol. vi. No. 23.

"The Troupes are so farre lodged from this place, that, as the Proverbe saies,—'they are better fedd than taught.' And they might as well have staied in their owne countries to have saved his Ma^{ties} charge, which I feare wee shall have neede of, if we lie heere more than a moneth, for I find the shippes backward; and the States' shippes not yet come, but onlie three.

"For the Troupes, it is necessarie they bee drawne nearer, and the allowance of half a crowne is so litle, that the gentlemen of the countrie are afraid that when the soldier must be forced to live on that pay, hee will range abroad. I have engaged myselfe to them, that if they will send mee in straw and victuall, I will hold them in such order, as it shall not be my fault.

"Concerning the list I brought downe, the most part were those that your Lo^{p} recommended; and I was so careful to choose the best, that I did leave manie of mine owne frendes behind, and some of them my kinsmen, bycause I would make them but ensignes. The reason was, my Lo: Duke told mee, that I should suffer none to come, but such as I would answere for. Whereupon I desired yo Lo^{p} to write to S^{r} J: Ogle to send his list up, which your Lo^{p} hath, and I would bee glad your Lo^{p} would send it downe, to see whether I did not follow it; yet with your directions, that if I did find anie one insufficient, I should take the way best for his Ma^{ties} service, for as men are now preferred, our profession of the warre is almost marred, having no gentlemen that will traile a pike, or learne to bee a soldier.

"For the Captaines that I found heere, and that your Lo^{p} hath againe recommended, I could take exceptions, bycause I know manie of them have not beene soldiers, and although they have taken paines to eat well and lie well, yet I fear I shall see but litle fruit from them, more than to cassere those that I brought downe with mee, choice men. But those that were so recommended to me, I neither could nor durst returne;[1] and the choise men had attended so long without meanes, that they were forced to pawne their clothes. If theise had beene sent back, it would have made them pawne their soules, for they must have turnd theeves.

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[1] From a minute in Lord Conway's letter book, dated September 5, it would appear that Buckingham desired that the officers he had nominated might not be removed from their commands, but for insufficiency or miscarriage.—*S. P. Dom.*

"Theise thinges considered, your Lo^{p} may please to thinke what a labirinth I have beene in, either to have lost many frendes, as well the Recomenders, as the recomended, or else to betray his Ma^{ties} service, and my Lo: Duke's commandemente. But, I thank God, I am now gotten out as well as I can; and I have not neglected your Lo^{ps} commandementes, nor putt his Ma^{tie} to more charge, yet there are 11 captaines and officers to them more then the 100 that was sett downe; and y^{r} Lo^{p} knowes how much advantage it will bee to fight with manie officers, especiallie in the command of rawe soldiers. And to show that his Ma^{tie} is not at more charge, it will appeare by the list my Lo: Duke gave mee, signed with his owne hand, for imprest money to Cap^{nes}, where I have found a way how to content men, and husband his Ma^{ties} treasure. I doe heere send y^{r} Lo^{p} the list now perfected, which till now I never could. I have recommended everie one to his charge. And if the shippes bee not our hindrance, I hope to be readie shortlie. But if his Ma^{tie} and they come before 10 daies, I shall not be readie to show them anie thing worthie their sight, for an Armie is no nimble bodie; and y^{r} Lo^{p} must consider that I have not found a soldier armed of the 10,000, and what time is spent, to draw the shipping to the shore, to take out the armes, to have the armes dressed that are rustie, and to deliver them to the soldiers, that are manie of them 24 miles off.

"I was not deceived when I desired a presse of 2000, for I find the want so great, as I did imagine could not bee otherwise. And if I had 3000, I could bestow them well for his Ma^{ties} service, for the Troupes that came out of the Low Countries, doe want 500;[1] and verie neare 500 of the remainer sick, besides manie gone, and impotent. And so manie there are out of clothes, that they cannot live on shipboard without beeing better furnished; and for his Ma^{tie} to cloth thiese men, it were an extreme difficultie, as the time standes, so that if I may understand his Ma$^{\text{ties}}$ pleasure by your Lo$^{\text{p}}$ what shall bee done in this; if it please his Ma$^{\text{tie}}$ I will cassere the unserviceable men to save his Ma$^{\text{tie}}$ the charge. And your Lo$^{\text{p}}$ shall doe his Ma$^{\text{tie}}$ a great service, to cause those Commissioners to bee punished, that have ventured to serve his Ma$^{\text{tie}}$ with Rogues, and those to bee punished likewise, that receive Runawaies, without punishment. If there bee no example made, this service will grow ridiculous, long peace having made all old good customes seeme strange; and y$^{\text{r}}$ Lo$^{\text{p}}$ may take better order against the negligence of the Postes, for my Lo: Duke's letter and your Lo$^{\text{ps}}$ were 4 daies comming.

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[1] In consequence of this deficiency, a warrant was issued on September 12 for a press for 500 soldiers, to be conducted to Plymouth with all speed.—*S. P. Dom.*

"For the commandement that I have received from my Lo: Duke to sett out shippes after the 18 Dunkerkers, I am now going abourd to conferre with a Counsell at sea, to performe that command without anie delay. Thus thanking God for his infinite favour, who hitherto hath preserved our Fleete and land men from the sicknes which spreades so farre, I rest,

"y$^{\text{r}}$ Lo$^{\text{ps}}$
"most humble servant to bee
"commanded,
[Ed. Cecyll.]

"Plimmouth, the 8th of
Sept.: 1625."[1]

This letter is unsigned and is probably a copy, though it is not so noted.

End.
"Septemb. 8, 1625
S$^{\text{r}}$ Edward Cecill.
Givinge an accompte of the
condicon he found the Troupes
in at Plimouth upon his
cominge thither."

Sir William St. Leger, who was to go with the expedition as captain of one of his Majesty's ships and colonel of one of the ten regiments on board the fleet, with the rank of sergeant-major-general, was as much surprised as General Cecil had been with the sight of the troops to be sent on active service. He wrote to Lord Conway and detailed the miserable condition of the sea and land forces. As Sir John Ogle was in bad health and desirous of retiring from the service, St. Leger suggested to Lord Conway that the post of colonel-general should be offered to Lord Essex.

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[1] *S. P. Dom,* 1625, vol. vi. No. 36.

"I humbly tender unto your Lordship's consideration," wrote St. Leger, "whether you will not think it fitt to make an offer of that place unto my Lord of Essex againe, whoe I conceave will give much luster [lustre] to the action, of which wee have needs more than your Lordship will imagine. . . . If your Lordship shall not find this fitt, give me leave to name one gentleman more unto your honour, and I will but name him, because I do not know how he stands in the favour of your honour's gracious patron ; if he will, he hath a good head peece of his owne if he imploy it unto good ends, the man I mean is Sir Ferdinand Gorges ; if neither of these, then Captain Courtney is an honest worthie gentleman and one that hath taken much paines in this businesse." [1]

Never before in England had there been such an unpopular expedition prepared for sea as this joint naval and military expedition of 1625. To make matters worse, a rumour had got afloat, as far back as the end of May, that corrupt victuals had been put aboard this renowned fleet,[1] which naturally discouraged mariners and soldiers from going therein. It remains to be seen whether this rumour was false. The food on land for the troops was so scanty that many deserted, and, of those who stayed, many wandered about the country killing sheep and levying black mail on the farmers of South Devon.[2] Excepting Buckingham and his master, those most interested in the success of the fleet looked for its departure with but little hope. Rusdorff wrote gloomily to his master, Frederick, about the preparations for departure.

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[1] Sept. 8. *S. P. Dom.* The Editor of John Glanville's *Journal of the Voyage to Cadiz in* 1625 (published by the Camden Society in 1883) has unintentionally done an injustice to the memory of Sir Edward Cecil, in stating that "Sir W. St. Leger had urged Conway on September 8, *that Lord Essex should be in supreme command.*" See the Editor's preface to *Glanville's Journal*, p. x. Most things were topsy-turvey in the arrangements for the expedition to Cadiz, but for an officer of St. Leger's rank to suggest that a simple captain of a fort regiment, as Courtenay was, should have *the supreme command*, would have been too ludicrous ! A colonel-general was a much less important personage than a lieutenant-general.

> "I can tell you nothing of our fleet," he wrote, "except that they are still making preparations. General Sizel (*sic*) and his officers have already gone to Plymouth. The king will also make a progress there. The people are much offended because the Duke of Buckingham does not go in person, having been the author of such a great enterprise and preparation." [3]

The feeling against Buckingham at this time seems to have been very strong.[4] Lord Cromwell, who had returned to England with the expectation of receiving a command on board the fleet, had the courage and good sense to give the Duke a warning, even at the expense of displeasing that great man.

> "They say," wrote Cromwell on September 8 from Fulham to the Duke, "the best Lords of the Council knew nothing of Count Mansfelt's journey, or this fleet, which discontents even the best sort, if not all; they say it is a very great burthen your Grace takes upon you, since none knowes anything but you. It is con-

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[1] Pory to Mead, June 3.—*Court and Times of Charles I.*, i. p. 27.

[2] Commissioners at Plymouth to the Council, August 12, September 1.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] Rusdorff to Frederick, $\frac{4}{14}$ September.—*Mémoires*, i. p. 621.

[4] See Whitelock's *Memorials of English affairs*, p. 2.

ceived that not letting others bear part of the burthen, you now bear, it may ruin you (which heaven forbid). Much discourse there is of your Lordship here and there as I passed home and back, and nothing is more wondered at than that one grave man [*i.e.* Privy Councillor] is not known to have your ear, except my good and noble Lord Conway. All men say if you go not with the fleet you will suffer in it, because if it prosper it will be thought no act of yours; and if it succeed ill they say it might have been better if you had not guided the King."[1]

After the dissolution of Parliament at Oxford, the King and Queen had retired to Titchfield, near Southampton, where they were secure from the ravages of the plague which still kept the metropolis and the suburbs in a reign of terror. So far the married life of Charles and Henrietta Maria had not been a happy one. Two parties and two religions in the same house were productive of continual strife, and, as neither husband nor wife were disposed to give way to each other in either great things or small, they did not at this time live happily together. Having determined to pay a visit to Plymouth to review his army and personally inspect the fleet before the expedition left England, Charles set out for the western port on September 11th.

"The King goes to Plymouth on Monday," wrote one of Sir Dudley Carleton's correspondents. "There is such want of money that the officers [of the Household] have not enough to pay for his Majesty's provisions on the journey."[2]

If there was not enough money to provide food for the King of England and his retinue on a short journey in England, was it likely there was enough to victual a large fleet of eighty ships, with 10,000 soldiers on board, bound on a long voyage?

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[1] Printed in *Cabala*, i. p. 263.

[2] Locke to Carleton, September 8.—*S. P. Dom.*

The following entries in the diary of a worthy Devonian relate to the journey of the King and other noble personages to Plymouth :—

> "The 14th of September the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Holland, the Earl of Denby [Denbigh], Sir Robert Killegrew and divers other gentlemen lay at Ash and passed through Colyton. The King lay at Mr. Poulett's at George Henton in Somerset. The same time the Earl of Essex passed thro' Colyton a little after the King.
>
> "The day before, the Lord Marshal, viz., the Earl of Arundel came from Chideock, and passed thro' Colyford. All which went towards Plymouth to view the soldiers, army and fleet, which were then bound to the seas, and, as it is conceived for some attempt against the dominion of Spain.[1]

The King stayed ten days at Plymouth, during which time he reviewed the army on Roborough Down and went aboard many of the ships to encourage the sailors. He knighted several captains of his own ships and some of the officers of the army.[2] Before the King departed, Buckingham obtained from him a public declaration of his intention to create Sir Edward Cecil a Peer of England, "on the ground," says a historian, "that the additional rank would give him greater authority over his subordinates."[3] It is a curious fact, and one worth remembering, that Sir Horace Vere was, by Buckingham's instrumentality, made a Baron of England for *not* going with the fleet, and Sir Edward Cecil was made a Viscount, by the Duke's instrumentality, for going as commander-in-chief. If the latter failed to merit his title by the complete failure of the expedition he commanded, it was his misfortune more than his fault, for he did his best from first to last, but he was quite unequal to the herculean task before him.

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[1] *Walter Yonge's Diary*, p. 86.

[2] Glanville's *Journal*, p. 4.

[3] Dr. Gardiner's *History of England*, vi. p. 12.

> "Sir Edward Cecil is general both by sea and land and so hath the greatest command that any subject hath had these hundred years, I suppose;"[1] wrote an interested contemporary. "Would any man take upon himself the charge of a general by sea," wrote that relentless old critic Admiral Sir Wm. Monson,[2] "than had never passed further than between England and Holland? It were good to know whether he sought the employment, or whether it was put upon him against his will; if he was led upon it by ambition let him answer his error and that with severity; if it was procured by others they ought to have the same chastisement he deserved."[3]

If Buckingham was a good friend he was also a good hater. When at Plymouth he came across Mr. John Glanville,[4] the Recorder of this town, who was peculiarly obnoxious to his Grace for the active part he had taken in the hostile debates of the last Parliament. It was Glanville who had prepared the protestation which the Commons addressed to his Majesty on the day of their dissolution. This address which was so loyal may have appeared to Charles and the Duke in their straitened circumstances a heartless joke, for it contained fine words but no money. It was now Buckingham's turn to retaliate. He determined to send Glanville with the fleet as secretary. This grim joke was actually carried out despite the able lawyer's piteous protestations that he was utterly unfit for such an employment.[1] The future Speaker of the House of Commons in the historical Parliament of 1640 was "pressed" for the Cadiz voyage like an ordinary sailor, and sent to sea entirely against his will.

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[1] Mead to Stuteville, October 15.—*Court and Times*, i. p. 53.

[2] Sir Wm. Monson, of the noble Lincolnshire family of that name, was fourth son of Sir John Monson, and was born about the year 1569.

[3] Churchill's *Naval Tracts*, iii. p. 238.

[4] John Glanville was a younger son of Judge Glanville. He was born at Kilworthy, near Tavistock, about 1589, and adopted the law as his profession. Appointed Recorder of Plymouth in 1614, and M.P. for the same port, which he also represented in the Parliaments of 1620, 1623, 1625, 1626 and 1628. In 1640 he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and received the honour of knighthood in the following year. Sir John Glanville died in 1661.

The season was now so far advanced that every day's delay was a matter of great importance. Buckingham hurried on the preparations as he had pressing business on hand in Holland and was anxious to be gone. The fleet was divided into three squadrons—the Admiral's, Vice-Admiral's and Rear-Admiral's. Sir E. Cecil, as Admiral and Lieutenant-General, was appointed to his Majesty's ship the *Anne Royal;* the Earl of Essex, who was Vice-Admiral and Colonel-General of the land forces, commanded the *Swiftsure*, and Sir Francis Steward, the Rear Admiral, commanded the *Lion*. The army was divided into ten regiments, viz:—The Duke's own regiment, commanded in his absence by Sir John Proude.[2]

"The second regiment," says Glanville, in his *Journal*, belonged to the Lord Lieutenant General, as he was Lord Marshall; the third to Robert Earle of Essex, by the tytle of Colonell Generall; the fourth to Henry Viscount of Valentia[3] in Ireland, Master of the Ordinance for this action, the 5th to Sir W. St. Leger, knt, Seriant major generale; the 6th to Sir Charles Riche, knt., by the name of Colonell Riche, the 7th to Sir Edward Conway,[1] knt., by the name of Colonell Conway; the 8th to Sir Edward Whorewood,[2] knt., by the name of Colonell Whorewood; the 9th to Sir John Burgh, knt., by the name of Colonell Burgh; and the 10th to Sir Henry Bruce, knt., by the name of Colonell Bruce."[3]

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[1] Mr. Glanville's reasons against his being employed as Secretary at War are given in the Appendix to this vol.

[2] Sir John Proude, of Kent, knighted February 10, 1622–3. Nicholls' *Progresses*, iii. p. 804. For an account of the Proude family, see Hasted's *Kent* under Goodneston, ii. p. 315.

[3] Sir Henry Power of Bersham, in Denbighshire, was created Viscount Valentia in 1620. He d-s-p- in 1642.

Each regiment was about 1,000 strong, and had a full complement of officers, but many of these officers, as we have seen, were quite new to the profession of arms.[4] There were 5,000 seamen on board the fleet, and both great and small brass ordnance for sea and land service, also 100 horses.[5]

Besides the officers already named, there went with this expedition, Lord Delawarr,[6] the Earl of Denbigh,[7] Lord Cromwell, Sir Samuel Argall,[8] Sir John Chudleigh,[9] Sir John Watts,[10] Sir George Blundell,[11] Sir Alexander Brett,[12]

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[1] Sir Edward Conway was Lieutenant-Colonel of Lord Willoughby's regiment in the Low Countries. He succeeded his father in 1630, as second Viscount Conway.

[2] Sir Edward Harwood, of whom hereafter.

[3] Glanville's *Journal*, pp. 2–3.

[4] A list of the officers in the ten regiments will be found in the Appendix to this vol.

[5] Glanville's *Journal*, p. 3.

[6] Henry West, 4th Baron Delawarr, who married Isabella, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Edmonds. He died 1628, and was succeeded by his son Charles, 5th Baron.

[7] William Fielding, Earl of Denbigh (so created 1622), married Mary Villiers, sister of George, Duke of Buckingham. Lord Denbigh adhered to the royal cause during the Civil Wars, and died of wounds received in action, April 1643.

[8] Sir Samuel Argall, was knighted June 26, 1622. He belonged to an old Essex family, who owned land in that county.

[9] Sir John Chudleigh, was son of John Chudleigh, of Ashton, co. Devon, and was knighted September 22, 1625.

[10] Sir John Watts was knighted by Charles I. He was son of Sir John Watts, Lord Mayor of London, in 1606.

[11] Referred to in Cecil's letter, dated December 4, 1624.

[12] A kinsman of Buckingham's (see a letter in *S. P. Holland*, dated August 1, 1622, from Buckingham to Carleton, recommending this gentleman to Carleton's notice), knighted December 2, 1624, and appointed surveyor general of the Ordnance, in 1627.

Sir Richard Greenville,[1] his young cousin, George Monk, then seventeen years old, the "General Monk" of the Commonwealth and Restoration.

On October 3, half the fleet under the Earl of Essex was sent to Falmouth, and the other half only waited for the Dutch squadron, which arrived on October 4, under the command of Admiral Nassau.[2] All the troops being then on board, and the fleet supposed to be in a fit state to go to sea, Sir Edward Cecil and the other commanders went on board their respective ships. The Duke of Buckingham accompanied Cecil on board the *Anne Royal* and there took leave of him.[3] Buckingham's sanguine temperament made him consider the success of this great expedition an absolute certainty.

> "He had yet to learn—if indeed he ever learnt it—that thousands of raw recruits do not make an army," says a modern historian, "and that thousands of sailors dragged unwillingly into a service which they dislike, do not make a navy. Cecil knew it, and the expedition carried with it the worst of omens in a hesitating and despondent commander." [4]

The two following letters from Cecil, written on the eve of departure, reveal the commander-in-chief's opinion of what was to be expected in the coming voyage. Not even the acquisition of a title, which was the Duke's last gift to him the day before he went on board the fleet [5] to enter on his command, could make Cecil take a cheerful view of what was before him, but, like a good soldier, he encouraged his officers[1] and only confided his fears to the most sanguine of his employers.

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[1] See a notice of this officer in Chapter VI.

[2] Wm. de Nassau, natural son of Maurice, Prince of Orange.

[3] Sir John Eliot to Conway, October 6.—*S. P. Dom.*

[4] Dr. Gardiner, as before, vi. p. 14.

[5] Warrant from the Duke of Buckingham to Attorney-General Coventry, to make ready a grant for conferring the dignity of Lord Cecil, Viscount of Wimbledon, upon Sir Edward Cecil, employed as lieutenant-general of His Majesty's sea and land forces. Plymouth, October 3.—*S. P. Dom.*

SIR E. CECIL TO LORD CONWAY.

"MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

"I received a command expresly from his Majesty to send him word when the Armie should be imbarked, which I now do by the inclosed, as also my best affection and service (as I did assure your Lord^{p}) to you, at the time it pleased your Lo^{p} to doe me more honour then I can deserve. I cannot but advertise your Lo^{p} how his Ex^{cie} the Duke hath bestirred himselfe and how industriouslie and iuditiouslie hee hath plaied the Generall, to the admonition of us that profess the occupation, both in Action and Councill. In Councill hee hath setled all men's places without discontentment; for it hath been agreed by vote and not authoritie. Hee that disputed most is come a degree lower than hee was. My lord hath done all in a week that wee doubted to have done in three, which time was allowed us. And, were it not that it is our obedience, it was somewhat too quick; for wee are to goe a long iourney and shall find no Hostes—but enemies. But obedience is more then sacrifice, and I hope wee shall not prosper the worse. And so in all hast on board.

"I rest, living or dying, y^{r} Lo^{ps}
"unfained and humble servant,
"ED. CECYLL.

"Plimmouth
the 4th Oct.
1625."[2]

Add. "For your Lordship."

End. "Sir Ed. Cecill to the Lord Conway. Sends also to his Ma^{tie} to give him knowledge the soldiers are imbarqued."

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[1] "When they (the colonels) were about to hinder the journey at Plymouth by railing on the beggarliness of it, and discrediting it, I was content to take it upon me, though against my judgment." Wimbledon to Buckingham, April 28, 1626.—See this letter in *Cabala.*

[2] *S. P. Dom.*

SIR E. CECIL TO KING CHARLES.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAT^{ie}

"According to y^{r} Mat^{ies} commandment (wh. next to God's is to mee a sacred comandment) I doe advertise y^{r} Ma^{tie} that your Armie is on board, for, notwithstandinge the doubts conceived, three weeks y^{r} Matie allowed us, is by the industrie of my Lord Generall the Duke reduced into one. And I dare say that noe Navie, in the most stirring time, soe full of wants and defects was ever made more readie at soe short a warning, then this w^{c}h is the first undertaking ffleet, after twentie yeares peace, considering the greatnes; & the like may bee sayd for the Armie, it being noe ordinary thing for ten thousand men that wee neyther armed, nor exercised, nor had their Armes so much as unshipped nor carried to their Garrisons, to bee Armed & in Battalia (as y^{r} Ma^{tie} did witness) and shipped in lesse then a month; if the designe were as much in the power of the souldier as this wee have doone, y^{r} Ma^{tie} and wee that serve you were happie. But wee have all contrarie to us, that in respect of such an Action may bee called Impediments. The time of the yeare for warre should bee made in sommer, especiallie at Sea; our Enemie hath [had] all the intelligence that he can wish and wee have spared him a whole Summer to fortify ag^{t} us; wee have noe Rendezvous but must bee forced to beat it out at Sea (for all our Enemies) these long winter nights, where wee shall be in danger to lose most of our long boates, and soe wee loose the best meanes wee have for landing of our men; and, w^{c}h is worst, the ffleet is threatened by stormes to bee dispersed, so that all of us are not likelie to meet againe; our men will fall sick through the illnes of the weather, being raw men and by nature more sicklie, even in sommer, then any Nation of the world. These Reasons & many more may bee alleadged ag^{t} us; yet neyther these, nor all the rest, can be able to discourage us, being in the service, but make us more resolute and undergoing. The cause being God's, your Ma^{ties}, and the cause of Innocencie, and recomended & followed, by y^{r} Ma^{ties} most faythfull, most industrious, and most couragious servant. And now that I have delivered the true state of our Condition w^{c}h I hould not unfitt, considering what may happen, I will thinke noe more of the difficultie but of the Remedies, and my first and greatest shall bee, amongst the rest, my sincere and hourlie prayers to God to prosper our succeese, w^{c}h I will likewise employ as heartilie, and as often, to send y^{r} Ma^{tie} all happines and a long life, to the comfort of all good men and mee occasion to show y^{r} Ma^{tie} how much I desire to bee,

"Y^{r} Ma^{ties}
"Loyal and obedient servant, subiect,
"souldier, living or dying,
[ED. CECYLL].

"ffrom aboard the Good shipp the
Anne Royall the [4] of
October 1625."[1]

Another letter of Cecil's, also dated the 4th of October, appears to have been written on the night of the 4th, a few hours before sailing, and to have been in answer to one from Sir John Coke complaining of the delay in starting.

SIR E. CECIL TO SIR JOHN COKE.

"SIR,

"It is true that I came aboard yesterday, wth a determination to putt to sea. But the munition was not all shipped; and the weather would not suffer it to bee shipped to sett sail to-night. It were better, I thinke, to attend to tide, then to leave behind us, so necessarie a materiall. And wee have made too much hast alreadie, considering the neglectes of the journey heeretofore and the weight of the busines. Neither can my lo. of Essex come out of Faymouth [Falmouth] with this wind; who is sent too [to] of purpose by mee. And though I vallew an hour at a great rate, in his ma^{ties} service, yet I had rather loose an houre, then loose our Action. This I hope will satisfie you; and I will do anie thing that maie satisfie in the performance of my duty, so I remaine,

"Y^{r} Honours
"friend to serve you,
"ED. CECYLL."

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[1] The copy of this letter is preserved in *Harl. MSS.* 3638, fo. 107.

"There shall bee a warning peele
given to sett saile at three
of the clock in the morning,
and I pray you bee as carefull
to send the munition after us,
by the Dutch shippes that staie for it."

"From the Anne Royal, the
4th of Octo: 1625."

Add.

"To the right Honorable
Sr. John Cooke, Knight;
Secretarie of State et cetr."

End.

"1625. Octob. 4
General Cecil frō
aboord the Anne Royal."

On October 5, at an early hour in the morning, the great fleet sailed out of Plymouth Sound. About noon the wind changed to south-west, and it began to blow hard. As the ships were making direct for the Spanish coast this wind was dead against them. The fleet must either alter its course and stand out to sea, or else return to Plymouth. Both these courses would be productive of delay. Sir Edward Cecil wishing to take the best of these two courses, and, as a landsman, not knowing which course was most desirable, took counsel with Sir Thomas Love,[2] captain of the *Anne Royal*, and Mr. Cooke, master of the same ship,

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[1] *S. P. Dom.*, 1625, vol. vii., No. 10.

[2] Captain Love commanded one of the ships sent to Spain in 1623 to bring back Prince Charles. It was doubtless for his services on this occasion that he was appointed to the command of the *Anne Royal*, an old ship named after Queen Anne of Denmark, and built early in the reign of James I.

both of whom were supposed to be experienced seamen. Sir Thomas Love looked at the matter from a merchant-captain's point of view, and considered the safety of his ship before everything else. A storm was brewing; the weather was misty, and a south-west gale might drive many of the ships upon the Eddystone rock, or compel them to put into the Isle of Wight for safety, which was quite out of their course. Sir Edward Cecil declared his own inclination to be to stand out to sea, as it would argue more courage and constancy to continue the voyage than to return to Plymouth.[1] Yet, after weighing the reasons on both sides, he thought fit to abide by his captain's advice, and, accordingly, the fleet put back into Plymouth harbour. A storm being expected, and the open Sound not being a safe anchorage, it was necessary to issue fresh orders for the safety of the fleet. Sir Edward Cecil consulted with some English and Dutch captains who had now come aboard his vessel. The seamen declared it was necessary for the safety of the fleet to go further up the harbour and anchor in Ham-oaz and Catwater.[2] The Admiral of Holland and other sea captains having advised this course to be pursued, Sir Edward Cecil issued a warrant to this effect. This warrant directed the orderly retreat of the ships into the inner harbour, specifying the anchorage ground for the King's and other ships. Special directions were given to the sea and land commanders not to allow any of the sailors or soldiers to go on shore on any pretence whatever, without the Marshal's express leave. Before this warrant was circulated through the fleet, many of the ships, not waiting for the Admiral's orders, ran for the Catwater, jostling each other and observing no order whatever. The sight was a lamentable one, showing an utter absence of organisation and discipline. The commander-in-chief of this disorderly fleet, who had been accustomed for twenty-seven years to the perfect discipline of the States' army, was much surprised by the sight he now witnessed. Before Cecil could recover his surprise, or inquire who was most to blame for this disorderly retreat, an angry letter was brought him from Sir John Coke, who had been left at Plymouth by the Duke of Buckingham to speed the departure of the fleet. Coke expressed his great grief at the disorderly return of the fleet, for which he blamed Cecil. It concerned Cecil's honour, he said, to suspect those who gave advice to lose time, and if the safety of the ships was merely required, the way would have been to have kept them at Chatham.[1] Coke's wrath was just, but Cecil had received instructions from a higher authority than Coke, which he was bound to obey. Let us see what the King's instructions to Cecil were, regarding the fleet.

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[1] Glanville's *Journal*, p. 9.

[2] Glanville, p. 10.

> "Wee straitly charge you to have a special care principally to intend the suretie and safetie of our navie at all times, as the principal honor and bulwarke of our kingdom, the suretie of your retraite and safetie for the retorne of all our Army."[2]

An inquiry was instituted by Sir John Coke and Sir Edward Cecil, as to who had given the orders to the ships which left their squadrons and hurried into the Catwater, without receiving orders from the Admiral of the fleet. On investigation it transpired that the orders had been given by Cecil's own captain (Sir Thomas Love). On ascertaining this Coke again wrote very sharply to Cecil about the instructions for this retreat having been issued by

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[1] Coke to Cecil, October 6.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] "King Charles's first instructions to Sir E. Cecil, setting forth the objects contemplated by the expedition against Spain, &c." See copy of these instructions in Appendix.

Cecil's own captain, and sarcastically asked Cecil what obedience he could expect from those farther off, if those nearest to him took such liberties? He advised Cecil to call all his captains together and openly disavow having authorised his captain to give such orders.[1]

Cecil sent a speedy reply to Coke's letter.

SIR E. CECIL TO SIR JOHN COKE.

'RIGHT HONOR^ble^

"I am very sorry that that yo^w^ tould me of yesterday is proved so true, and before I received yo^r^ letter I did examine the same busines and I find yt to be all one thing, the party having confessed yt; but I find yt was donne rather out of ignorance, and mistaking, thean out of arrogancy; for otherwise the wrong was so much to me, that I should not so easily have passed by yt; but faultes confessed are pardoned by the highest and mightiest power; otherwise I would not have beleeved so great an error could have been comitted; but for sending any thing to the Vice-Admirall, or Reare-Admirall, that I can assure yo^w^ is not donne, for that I have donne yt all with myne own hand; and howe I should have avoided a thing so secreat donne, I know not; and I find that w^ch^ hath been donne hath been to some pticuler captens that belong to other esquadrons, especially to the Vice-Admiralls; and to sett things in a better order I will followe yo^ur^ honors direction, in calling all the captens to me.

"For the matter of the wind, I have sitten up all night and I found yt Southerly and no manner of wind able to bring the ship out; and nowe onely we want water, w^ch^ uppon the first rising there shall be no minute of tyme lost wherein wee will not doe our utmost endevours to gett forth; having finished this letter, I am going myself from ship to ship to comand all diligence in going forth.

"For the Lyon,[2] I had written to yo^w^ the pticulers but that I know you were sufficiently informed by the shipwright, but this I can assure yo^{w} that by good witnesse shee was 3 foote in water before she came in, but the leake of five foote not discovered till she came in, and so with humble thanks for yo^{r} care and zeal in advertising of me, true and home, that I may the better pforme the generall busines and regard myne own honour, I rest

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[1] Coke to Cecil, October 8.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] Glanville thus refers to the unseaworthiness of H.M.S. *Lion* in his *Journal.* "While we lay thus in Harbour, it was discovered that the *Lion*,

"yo^{r} honors most faithful friend^{e},
"and servant,
"ED. CECYLL.

"from my ship this
8th of October 1625.[1]"

Add.

"To the Right Honorable S^{r}
John Cooke, knight, one of his
Maties principall secretaries
of state."

End.

"1625. Octob. 8
L^{d} Lieute-General fro^{m}
aboard the Anne Royal
in Catwater."

"The wind continued still contrarie till Saturday the 8th of October in the forenoone," wrote John Glanville, "all which tyme we lay in harbour, my Lo Lietenant General lodging every night abord according to his former resolution." [2]

The delay in starting again was most galling to that energetic civilian Sir John Coke, who seems to have blamed Sir E. Cecil for what was the fault of the wind.

"For not making more haste," wrote Cecil to the irate Secretary, "I can say nothing but that I have been all this night up, and

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wherein Sir ffrancis Stewart, Knt., went Vice-Admiral (*sic*) of the ffleete, was so leake and insufficient, that shee was not fitt to go the voyage. Ffor which cause shee was discharged, and Sir ffrancis Stewart alsoe." p. 13.

[1] *S. P. Dom*, 1625, vol. vii., No. 40.

[2] *Journal*, p. 12.

the calme having been so much against any manner of wind that no ship could stirr by any means ; and since the wind hath served I have been from ship to ship to make ready, for that no warning will serve their turnes, both with the Hollanders as others, and now we stay only for the coming in of the water this hower. . . . assure yourself I will not lose hower or minute to make all possible speedy hast, for that I am now growen so good a seaman by your advertisement, and my experience at this tyme, that I will beleeve in neither capten nor maister, but follow my own cares and endeavours, for that I find no orders, nor comands, observed but those I follow (according to the example of my Lord Duke) in my own person, and for my better witnesse [I beg] that you will be pleased to send a pilote to me, to see if it be possible to go out and witnesse what tyme we doe so."[1]

At last the fleet got away and stood out to sea on the evening of October 8.

Cecil's last letter had convinced Sir John Coke that the Admiral had not spared himself, or left others to do what he was able to do himself—even to rowing from ship to ship to give all necessary orders to his laggard captains. With all this care, fourteen ships (probably colliers pressed for the service) managed to stay behind, after the rest of the fleet was clear of the harbour. Sir John Coke ordered these fourteen ships which stayed behind to weigh anchor on pain of death, and follow the fleet.[2] A slight occurrence, previous to Cecil's final departure, had greatly raised Cecil in Coke's estimation. This was the fact of Cecil having expelled a certain Mr. Rawley, a military volunteer, who had served under Lord Delawarr in the Low Countries, from the *Anne Royal*, for gaming, swearing, and general insubordination on board ship.[3] This person having broken the second clause of the Articles of war,[1] delivered in writing to all the ships to be strictly observed by all on board the fleet, Cecil made an example of him and summarily expelled him. Rawley was sent on shore to be punished by Sir John Coke, who found him very contrite and humble. As he had left his luggage on board the *Anne Royal* and all his money, he was naturally anxious to return to the ship and begged Coke's intercession with Cecil. As Coke wanted to send a despatch to Cecil concerning the fourteen ships which had tarried behind, he sent it by Rawley, who returned in one of these ships.

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[1] Cecil to Coke [evening of], October 8.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] Coke to Cecil, October 9.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] *Ibid.*

The fleet had now fairly started for the coast of Spain, the first rendezvous, appointed in case of separation, being off the southern cape on the coast of Spain, in the latitude of 37 degrees, and the second rendezvous was to be the Bay of Cadiz, or St. Lucar.[2] These orders were delivered to the Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral[3] a day or two after, when the whole fleet came together off the Cornish coast.

Thus, on October 8, the great fleet which was freighted with the King's and Buckingham's sanguine expectations, left the shores of Britain.

> "That month and day had been fitter to have sought England after a voyage, winter approaching," wrote that old sea commander, Sir W^{m}. Monson, "than to have put themselves and ships to the fortune of a merciless sea that yields nothing but boisterous and cruel storms, uncomfortable and long nights, toil and travail to the endless labour of the poor mariners." [4]

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[1] The chief of these articles are given in the Appendix to this vol. See "Instructions given to Sir Edward Cecil by the Duke of Buckingham."

[2] Glanville's *Journal*, p. 6.

[3] In place of Sir Francis Stewart, who was ordered to take his unseaworthy ship, the Lion, back to Chatham, the Earl of Denbigh was appointed Rear Admiral.

[4] Churchill's *Naval Tracts*, iii. p. 237.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CADIZ VOYAGE.

1625.

> "Success in the profession of a soldier depends much on chance and luck. It is not enough to be a good player, a man must be likewise lucky."—*Memoirs of T. Bugeaud, Marshal of France.*

WHEN that successful commander, but unfortunate man, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, returned from his victorious expedition to Cadiz in 1596, he wrote what he called his "Apology for the Cadiz Journey,"[1] in which he recounts the mistakes committed during the voyage. Having shown in what a disheartened state the commanders and men of the expeditionary force were in when they left Plymouth, in October, 1625, it now remains to show how it was that this expedition[2] was so disastrous in its results.

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[1] *The Earle of Essex Apollogy for the Cales Journey*, *Harl. MSS.* 7567, fo. 114.

[2] For an account of this expedition, see Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, i. pp. 532–4; Churchill's *Naval Tracts*, iii. 234–44; *Harleian Miscellany*, i. 221–3; Hume's *Hist. of England*, v. 70; Forster's *Life of Sir J. Eliot*, i. 265–271; Clarendon's *Hist. of the Rebellion* (edit. 1849), i. 54; Osborne's *Memoirs*, &c. ii. 27; Dr. Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, vi. 10–23; Glanville's *Journal of the Voyage to Cadiz*, edited for the Camden Soc., by Dr. Grosart; Cecil's *Journal of the Voyage*, printed in 1627; *Journal of the Swiftsure.*—(*S. P. Dom.* 1625, xi. 22); an anonymous Journal in *S. P. Dom.* 1625, (x. 67). Geronimo de la Concepcion's *Cadiz Illustrada* (chapter xiv.) gives the Spanish story of the expedition, and Larrey's *Histoire de la Grande Bretagne* (iv. 15–6), gives the French account.

On Sunday, October 9, the Vice-Admiral's and Rear-Admiral's squadrons, which had been sent on before to Falmouth on October 3, joined the Admiral's squadron off the Lizard, and Lord Essex saluted the Admiral with nine guns.[1] On the Tuesday following, a calm having set in, Sir Edward Cecil summoned a council of war, to attend on board the *Anne Royal*, to settle upon a course of action to be pursued in a sea-fight with any Spanish fleet, or other enemy they fell in with. At this council Sir Thomas Love, captain of the *Anne Royal*, one of the senior councillors, read, by Cecil's express desire, a form of articles which he (Love) had drawn up, and which set forth the line of action to be pursued in a sea-fight. It is more than probable that this programme was drawn up by both Cecil and Love, though the latter was credited with it.[2] Love could sail a ship as well as any man, but there is nothing to prove he had ever fought one. Cecil knew neither how to sail a ship nor fight one. Like the Duke of Montmorency, Admiral of France, he knew nothing of the sea, and had probably never seen a piece of ordnance shot at sea in his life, but he knew how to manœuvre troops on land and how to lead them into action. The soldier-admiral looked upon the fleet as an army, each ship being a body of men to be moved hither and thither at a moment's notice. It was doubtless Cecil who suggested that the fleet might fight at sea much after the manner of an army on land; every ship being assigned to a particular division, rank, file, and station.[3] A cut and dried programme of this military character was now proposed to the council of war, but there were enough seamen in this council to see how futile such a precise and regular plan for action would be, in the case of an unwieldy and unmanageable fleet, on so uneven and uncertain a parade-ground as the sea. Accordingly the council had to amend, modify and rectify the plan of action to be followed in a possible sea engagement. The amended articles were then ratified by Cecil, and, being committed to writing, were made known to all the different commanders.

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[1] *Journal of the Swiftsure.*

[2] Glanville, p. 15.

[3] *Ibid.*

On the same day that this council was held and when the fleet was barely out of English waters, Sir Edward Cecil, being aware that many ships in the fleet were scantily victualled, issued a warrant to the effect that from henceforth both seamen and soldiers were to sit five in a mess, only having the allowance formerly allotted to four men.[1] Is there an instance in English history where an expedition was so short of provisions, a few days after leaving an English port, that it was absolutely necessary to put the sailors and soldiers on short allowance at the commencement of the voyage? A thing well begun is said to be half done, but the very outset of this voyage was ill begun, unfavourable, and ominous of a bad end. On October 12, a fair wind set in, and the fleet took immediate advantage of it, but in the evening it blew very hard, and a heavy gale from the north-west set in. The storm lasted for two days, dispersing the fleet and causing much damage and loss. "Our antientest seamen told us they had never been in a greater storm," wrote Secretary Glanville in his *Journal.*[2] The *Anne Royal* proved herself very unfitted for such rough weather, and, being overladen with heavy ordnance, nearly capsized during the storm, and was in danger of losing her main mast.[3] The *Robert*, of Ipswich, a ship of 244 tons burthen, belonging to the Vice-

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[1] Glanville, p. 23.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[3] *Ibid.;* Cecil to Buckingham, Nov. 8, 1625.—*S. P. Dom.*

Admiral's squadron, foundered during the storm. She had 37 sailors on board, and 138 soldiers, with Captains Fisher and Hackett of Lord Valentia's regiment, all of whom perished.[1] There was not a ship in the whole fleet which did not suffer in some respect by leakages, losses in masts, boats, and the spoiling of provisions.[2]

The storm began to abate on the 14th, and about twenty ships of the Admiral's squadron came in sight. On the 17th, the Spanish coast being plainly discernible and the wind fair, Sir Edward Cecil had his ship cleared for action. He also caused all the gentlemen volunteers and their servants on board his ship, who were forty in number, to be armed with firelocks and swords. They were put under the command of Mr. Francis Carew,[3] of his Majesty's Privy Chamber.

A calm having set in on the 18th, Cecil assembled a council of war on board the *Anne Royal* and informed its members he had called them together for three purposes. First, to admonish the captains of different ships for their neglect in not coming up daily to hail him and receive his directions. Secondly, to ask their opinion concerning the Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral, who, with above forty ships, had been missing ever since the late storm. Thirdly, to know the defects and losses that had happened during this storm. As the Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral, with the missing ships, were so soon to be met with again, we need only refer now to the Admiral's question regarding the losses and damage inflicted by the storm. He was speedily informed of the loss of the *Robert* with all on board, and then began a long string of complaints from many of the captains of the ships in the Admiral's squadron. So endless were the complaints, and so eager were the narrators of the disasters that had befallen their several ships to make the most of their misfortunes, that it was very wisely determined on at this council to abstain from inquiring any further how things now stood, so that the expeditionary force might not be discouraged. But there were many other causes to discourage both sailors and soldiers. One of these was the discovery that many of the muskets on board the fleet were defective, some of them so grossly that they had no touch-holes. It was also now found that the bullets did not fit the firearms to which they were assigned, and that the bullet-moulds had got mislaid among the multitudinous stores and could not be found.[1] Captain Johnson, commander of one of the ammunition ships, was held responsible for these oversights, but, as it was too late to repair such serious defects, and the fault really lay at another's door, Cecil said little about the affair. Another matter now laid before the Admiral, which was capable of a remedy, he speedily set right. This was a complaint brought by Lord Valentia against the master of H.M.S. *Reformation*, wherein Lord Valentia went as Vice-Admiral of the Vice-Admiral's squadron, and Mr. Raleigh Gilbert[2] as captain. His lordship complained that the master had been guilty of great insolence and contempt, not only in refusing to obey his lordship's orders, but, by insolently saying the ship was in the master's charge and not in his lordship's, and that therefore he would not hoist sail when his lordship commanded. To prevent a repetition of this occurrence, Cecil directed that it was to be understood from henceforth that every nobleman on board any ship in this voyage was to be chief commander in the ship, but, at the same time, he was to be sparing in his commands, and was only to deliver them to the captain, who would himself give the orders to the master and other officers on board the ship. On this occasion Cecil forbore to punish the master of the *Reformation*, he being ill, and his captain interceding for him as an able and honest seaman.[1] This little incident gives abundant proof of the contempt the seamen had for their land commanders. The Admiral,[2] Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral were soldiers, and all three were utterly ignorant of seamanship. Again, Lord Delawarr, Lord Valentia, and Lord Cromwell, who were respectively Vice-Admirals of the Admiral's, the Vice-Admiral's, and the Rear-Admiral's squadrons, were also all three soldiers and ignorant of seamanship. Between the sailor and the soldier is a great gulf fixed—a greater gulf than between a civilian and a soldier. Any one who has been much at sea will recognise this fact, and will know how helpless both civilians and soldiers are on board either a merchant-ship or a man-of-war.

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[1] Glanville; Cecil's *Journal*, p. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[3] Francis Carew was made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles I. He was son of Sir Nicholas Carew, of Bedington, in Surrey, whose sister Elizabeth married Sir Walter Raleigh. Sir Francis Carew died April 9, 1649.

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[1] Glanville, p. 28.

[2] Son of Sir Walter Raleigh's half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the distinguished navigator.

On October 19, at an early hour in the morning, the Admiral's squadron came in sight of Cape Mondego, and presently ten ships were descried to leeward, which were supposed to belong to the Spanish West India fleet. The fleetest ships in Cecil's squadron gave chase to these ten ships, and, after a four hours' run, it was simultaneously discovered that both pursurers and pursued belonged to the great English fleet. This waste of valuable time was entirely owing to the neglect of the captains of the pursued ships to make the signals prescribed by the Admiral's orders of the 3rd of October.[1] Soon after this, the Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral with about forty of the missing ships were joyfully descried and hailed. On being spoken they said they had been in this the first place of rendezvous, for two days, having weathered the storm much better than the Admiral's squadron.

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[1] Glanville, pp. 28–9.

[2] The Editor of Glanville's *Journal* gives Cecil the title of *Lord High Admiral* throughout the introductory preface to the *Journal* (see pages ix.; xi.–xiii.; xvi.; xxii.). There was but one Lord High Admiral, viz. the Duke of Buckingham, and Cecil had merely the temporary rank of *Admiral* for the voyage.

One of the worst features about this expedition was the absence of any settled plan of action when the fleet left Plymouth. It is true that a council of war had been held at Plymouth at which both the King and Buckingham were present. At this council, Lisbon, Cadiz, and St. Lucar[2] had all three been named as desirable points of attack, but the final resolution was left for the council of war to decide on the spot. The following clause in the King's instructions to Sir E. Cecil explains why the fleet sailed with no settled plan of attack:—

> "And though that which we have the least in contemplation is the taking or spoiling of a town, yet if you shall find any rich town, that without any great hazard you may take, you may do well to remember the great cost we have been at in this fleet,—attempt the taking of the town, and, being gotten, be very careful for the gathering together and possessing of the riches towards the defraying of the cost of the fleet."[3]

A gambler stakes his all on the throw of the dice, and stands to win or lose with the calm courage of a brave man; but Charles played his game on an entirely different system. He hoped to acquire rich booty without running any great risk. He expected the Admiral of his fleet to capture Spanish fortresses, destroy Spanish shipping, and bring home West Indian treasure ships without running "any great hazard." Such cautious and pusillanimous instructions were gall and wormwood to the veteran soldier who had charged with such spirit and dash in the memorable cavalry charge at Nieuport, and had volunteered to conduct troops to Ostend from England when that place was besieged by the Spaniards. Let us see what Cecil caused to be added to the King's instructions when he found how his hands were tied:—"And that although we give you a strict care of the preservation of our navy, yet it is not our meaning that thereby you shall have any doubt to undertaking any enterprise that may be dangerous, *so long as it is by the advice of the council of war*, for we know very well that there is no great enterprise can be undertaken without danger; but only we do by these recommend the care of our fleet to you so much as in you lieth."[1] This final clause is specially noted in the King's instructions as having been "put in by consent, but with the advice of my Lord Cecil."[2] This codicil to the King's will, as we may term it, has a soldierly ring about it which no other part of the instructions possesses. It was hampered, however, by the strict injunction that nothing was to be undertaken without the consent of the council of war. However necessary this injunction was in the case of an Admiral who knew nothing of the sea, it placed the commander-in-chief of a great undertaking in a false and dependent position, putting him on a par with his subordinate officers, though not relieving him of the responsibility which, as nominal head, rested upon him.

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[1] Glanville, p. 30.

[2] Near the mouth of the Guadalquiver and the seaport of Seville.

[3] See *Instructions for Sir E. Cecil*, given in Appendix to this vol.

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[1] See *Instructions for the Duke of Buckingham concerning the fleet*, in the Appendix.

[2] *Ibid.*

On October 20, having arrived off Cape St. Vincent, Cecil called a council of war to determine that which ought to have been definitely settled before the fleet sailed.

The council having assembled on board the *Anne Royal*, Sir Edward Cecil delivered a paper to Secretary Glanville to read to the assembled members. This paper declared that the projects for the intended action were to destroy the King of Spain's shipping; to take and hold some place of importance in Spain, and, above all, to hinder Spanish commerce by waylaying the Plate fleet.[1] The paper having been read, the council began to debate and advise what port it was best to sail for. Lisbon, St. Lucar, and Cadiz had been named as fitting points of attack in the council held at Plymouth. Lisbon had now been passed, so St. Lucar and Cadiz received the attentions of the council. When Cecil proposed the former place to the council as a point of attack approved of by the King, the sea captains declared it would be dangerous to enter the harbour of St. Lucar so late in the year. Several masters of the King's ships, who had been summoned to this council, spoke to the same effect, declaring St. Lucar was a barred haven, and of such difficult entrance to ships of large burthen that they could only pass in and come out at spring tides, in calm seasons and with favourable winds. These difficulties of navigation were of course utterly unknown to Cecil, and he very naturally demanded both of the sea captains and masters why they had not spoken of these difficulties before the King at Plymouth?[2] They replied, "it was now the depth of winter and stormy, and that they had told his

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[1] Glanville, p. 32.

[2] Cecil's *Journal*, p. 6.

Majesty it was a barred haven and dangerous."[1] "I could say no more to them," says Cecil in his Journal of the voyage, "being [seeing?] I was no great seaman, and that I was strictly tide [tied] to their advice that did profess the sea."[2] We gather from the following cutting criticism written by Admiral Monson, when Cecil's Journal was published in 1627, that the sea captains, on whose seamanship their soldier-Admiral had perforce to lean, were not considered to be experienced navigators.

> "If the masters knew no more than the captains," wrote Monson in reference to their answer to Cecil about St. Lucar, "I think they knew little, for I am informed few of the captains had any experience and skill in sea affairs. . . . could the summer remove the bar and give them a safe entrance? Could the summer season give them more knowledge of pilot-ship than they had before their coming thither? Or did they not know that winter was approaching when they were called to the council at Plymouth, for it could not be above twenty days more winter than it was when they were at Plymouth?"[3]

The council of war which had assembled on board the Admiral's ship to decide what was best to be done were much divided in opinion. Some were for sailing for Gibraltar and attacking that important stronghold.[4] Others considered Malaga more worthy their attention, whilst an attack on St. Mary Port and Cadiz was voted for by some of the members. Many good reasons were given for a sudden attack on Gibraltar, or Malaga, but they were overruled and set aside simply because those places were "clean out of hope of the Plate fleet."[5] Sir Samuel Argall, captain of the *Swiftsure*, affirmed that St. Mary Port, near the Bay of Cadiz, was a safe anchorage ground at all seasons, and, that the shore being low there, was convenient for the landing of troops who could march from thence to St. Lucar to assault and capture that place, distant only twelve miles from St. Mary Port.[1]

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[1] Cecil's *Journal.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Churchill's *Naval Tracts*, iii. p. 238.

[4] Sir Henry Bruce, one of the colonels, strongly advocated a descent on this place.

[5] *Lord Wimbledon's Answer to the Charge of the Earl of Essex and nine other colonels, at the council table, relating to the expedition against Cales.* Printed in Lord Lansdowne's *Works in Verse and Prose* (edit. 1736), iii. p. 227 *et seq.*

> "Hereupon it was finallie resolved and ordered by the Lord-Lieutenant General, and with the advice and consent of the Councell at Warre," wrote Glanville in his Chronicle, "that the whole ffleete should forthwith beare in for St. Mary Port, as the fittest place to land in for the reasons lastlie expressed."[2]

This being definitely settled, it was now moved by some of the councillors that they should pass a resolution for the manner and order of landing the troops, and for such actions on shore, or at sea, as occasion might lead them into. Lord Cromwell was very anxious this point should be settled before the council broke up, but, much time having been already spent in the former debate, Sir Edward Cecil said he intended to take St. Mary Port chiefly to relieve the fleet with fresh water, and, that when the fleet had come to an anchor off there he would then advise what was best to be done.[3] This procrastination was the cause of dire and unlooked for results, and Cecil cannot be exonerated from blame in so important a matter.

The whole fleet now bore away for the Bay of Cadiz. On October 21, three ships were descried and chased. Finding they could not get away, these three ships struck sail and surrendered. They proved to be a Dane, a Fleming, and a Hamburger laden with cochineal, wine, figs, raisins, oranges, lemons, &c., and were bound for Calais.

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[1] *Lord Wimbledon's Answer to the Earl of Essex*; and Glanville, pp. 35-6.

[2] Glanville, p. 39.

[3] *Ibid.*

Suspecting the goods to be intended for Dunkirk, all three ships were detained as prizes, and had English crews sent on board them.[1]

On October 22, shortly before entering the Bay of Cadiz, Cecil wrote to Lord Essex desiring him to crowd on all sail and make for St. Mary Port, according to the resolution passed at the late council.

> "Your Lordship by these present is to make hast in," wrote Cecil to Essex, "leaving berth between mee, the Admiral, the Admiral of Holland, and Rear-Admiral, that wee may lye conveniently for landing of soldiers. . . . ships containing soldiers to lye as nigh St. Mary Port as may be."[2]

According to these instructions the Vice-Admiral, in the *Swiftsure*, led the way into the Bay of Cadiz, his squadron following him in good order but too much astern.[3] On entering the bay, Essex perceived above a dozen large Spanish ships and many small ones on the opposite side of the bay, anchored off the town of Cadiz.[4] His orders were to anchor off St. Mary Port at the entrance to the bay, but the remembrance of his father's glorious deeds in this very bay in 1596, when the Spanish treasure-ships, known as the twelve apostles, were captured, prompted Essex to dash at once upon the prey, leaving his squadron to follow him as best they could.[5]

Lord Essex cannot be said to have transgressed his orders on this occasion, for, though told to anchor off St. Mary Port, he had received, as far back as October 11, the Admiral's instructions for engaging any of the enemy's ships he fell in with. It is only just to Cecil's memory to state this fact, as Essex afterwards said he had received no orders to chase and capture any of the Spanish ships.[1] By this assertion Essex lays himself open to the grave charge of disobedience, as he undoubtedly was told to anchor off St. Mary Port, which he did not, but, after dispersing the enemy's ships on the other side of the bay he quietly came to an anchor off Cadiz.

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[1] Glanville, p. 38.

[2] *Journal of the Swiftsure.*

[3] Glanville, p. 38.

[4] Glanville says there were fifteen or sixteen good ships of the enemy riding at anchor before the town of Cadiz, whereof the *Admiral of Naples*, said to be 1,200 tons and carrying 60 guns, was the chief.—p. 38.

[5] Dr. Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, vi. p. 15.

When the Spanish ships perceived Essex's squadron they hoisted sail, cut their cables and ran ahead of the Vice-Admiral athwart the bay, making for the narrow channel leading to the town of Port Royal. As the *Swiftsure* sailed past the town of Cadiz, she was fired upon from the shore, and the Spanish ships as they ran ahead let fly at her, which fire the *Swiftsure* returned. All this happened while the Vice-Admiral's ship was unsupported. Had the enemy's ships turned upon her, it would have gone hard with the valiant Essex. The Admiral had now entered the bay at the head of his squadron.[2] Seeing the danger his Vice-Admiral was in, he crowded on all sail on board the lumbering *Anne Royal*, and, passing through Essex's squadron, shouted his orders right and left to crowd all sail after the Vice-Admiral. "But he shouted now as vainly in Cadiz Bay," says an impartial writer, in his graphic account of this expedition, "as he shouted a few weeks before in Plymouth Harbour. The merchant captains and the merchant crews, pressed unwillingly into the service, had no stomach for the fight."[3] Two of the King's ships, the *Reformation* and the *Rainbow*, commanded by Lord Valentia and Sir John Chudleigh, responded to the call and hurried up to second the *Swiftsure*.[1] One of the new comers sent a shot through the hull of one of the Spanish ships, but, instead of continuing the chase, Lord Essex came to an anchor off Cadiz, with his two consorts, and the Spanish ships quietly sailed into Port Royal creek and ran themselves ashore. "It was thought," wrote an eye-witness of this scene, "that if Lord Essex had been more immediately seconded, and had attempted it, he might have prevented the enemy's ships from gaining Port Royal and taken them in the Bay of Cadiz."[2] With all his daring, Essex was naturally a cautious commander. "He rather waited, than sought for opportunities of fighting," wrote one of Lord Essex's biographers, "and knew better how to gain than improve a victory."[3]

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[1] The 7th and 10th articles in Cecil's instructions for a sea-fight, delivered in Council on October 11, distinctly authorise the Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral to chase, assault and capture any ships of the enemy they may fall in with, when the Admiral is not on the spot to direct them.—Glanville, p. 18.

[2] Before entering the Bay of Cadiz on Oct. 22, Cecil prepared his ships for action.—Cecil's *Journal*, p. 8.

[3] Dr. Gardiner, as before, vi. p. 15.

Lord Essex having come to an anchor a little above the town of Cadiz with his laggard squadron, the Admiral with his squadron, and the Dutch, cast anchor before the town, and the Rear-Admiral, with his squadron, before St. Mary Port at the entrance of the bay.[4]

The fleet having now come to an anchor, Sir Edward Cecil immediately caused the flag for summoning a council of war to be hung out.

While the council was assembling, the master of an English bark, Jenkinson by name, whose vessel, laden with salt, was then in harbour, came on board the *Anne Royal*. He brought intelligence that the arrival of the English fleet was quite unexpected, and that Cadiz was ill-garrisoned and badly prepared for an attack. This man risked his life to bring this intelligence, as, when he was observed from the town to take boat and row towards the English ships, the enemy fired at him and a cannon shot passed between his legs, tearing his breeches, but not touching his skin, though he was slightly hurt in the face and in one of his hands by splinters.[1]

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[1] Glanville, p. 39.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Granger's *Biographical Dictionary*, ii. p. 249.

[4] Glanville, p. 40.

The council having assembled, Cecil consulted both with the sea and land commanders touching the enemy's ships which had fled up Port Royal creek, and the taking of the fort of Puntal, which guarded the entrance to the inner harbour. The sea captains assured Cecil that if he could gain the fort he would have the Spanish ships in a net from which they could not escape.[2] They also laid particular stress on the fact that until Puntal[3] was captured the fleet was exposed to the fire of both the town and fort.[4] As only a few ships of light burthen would be required to attack Puntal, Sir W. St. Leger very wisely suggested that a simultaneous attack should be made on the fort and on the Spanish ships in Port Royal creek,[5] but being a soldier his good advice was not hearkened to by the majority of the council, who were seamen, and flattered themselves they knew their own business best. That they did not know their own business is proved by the entry of the fleet into Cadiz Bay at high water, which enabled the Spanish ships to run into Port Royal creek—a feat they could not have accomplished if the fleet had entered the harbour at low water. Cecil, of course, was not expected to know this, and, being bound down by the King's command and by necessity to follow the advice of his principal sea captains, his warlike designs suffered in consequence. "Every man that can manage a small bark," wrote old Admiral Monson, contemptuously apostrophising the advice of the sea captains in this ill-starred expedition, "is not capable to direct a fleet."[1] But to return to this divided council. It was finally resolved by Cecil, with the assent of the council,[2] that the fort of Puntal should be forthwith assaulted by a battery to be made on it by five Dutch ships and twenty Newcastle colliers, which drew very little water and so were well fitted for the service. Three of the King's ships, the *Swiftsure*, the *Reformation* and the *Rainbow*, were also ordered to second the above ships in the attack on the fort.

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[1] Glanville, p. 41.

[2] Cecil's despatch to Buckingham, Nov. 8.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] This fort was captured by Essex in the 1596 Expedition. The inner Cadiz bay is now protected by the cross fires of the forts Matagordo and Puntales, which are only half a mile apart.

[4] Cecil's *Journal*, p. 9; Glanville, p. 41.

[5] St. Leger to Buckingham, $\frac{\text{29 Oct.}}{\text{8 Nov.}}$—*S. P. Dom.*

Sir Michael Geere and Mr. Francis Carew were sent at once to order the Newcastle colliers to the front.[3] It was now late in the evening, and the colliers taking advantage of the darkness remained where they were, leaving the five Dutch ships to attack the fort by themselves, as the King's ships were unable to second them that night by reason of it being low water. The Dutch ships kept up a heavy fire against Puntal for some hours, but came off worst in the encounter, two of their ships being seriously damaged by the enemy's fire and running aground.[4] Before daybreak on Sunday morning, October 23, the Admiral of Holland, with some of his officers, came on board the *Anne Royal* and complained to Cecil that they had been left to maintain the fight alone. They also declared that if they had been properly seconded Puntal would have capitulated.[5] This was grievous intelligence to the commander-in-chief, who had expected to hear that Puntal had surrendered, when he intended sending the colliers against the enemy's ships in Port Royal creek.[1] Cecil only waited to receive the Holy Communion,[2] with his officers, which his chaplain had justly considered was the best way of beginning what was expected to be a most eventful day, full of danger and hazard, before he left his ship, with Sir Thomas Love and the gentlemen volunteers, and proceeded in a barge to where the colliers were safely anchored. "I went from ship to ship," wrote Cecil in his journal, "crying out to them to advance to Puntal for shame, and upon pain of their lives."[3] Being ignorant of the word "shame," the collier crews required something of a stronger nature to stimulate their coward blood. Cecil had to turn his *bâton* into a cudgell and enforce his threats with blows.[4] At last the colliers were brought up to the scene of action, but even then they kept well in the background, and their fire did more damage to their own ships than to the enemy. Cecil had now gone on board the *Swiftsure*, where Lord Essex was directing the attack on Puntal, and, when one of the colliers sent a shot right through the *Swiftsure*, these worse than useless auxiliaries received orders to cease firing.[5] Cecil now ordered up H.M.S. *Convertive* and the *Great Sapphire* to second the *Swiftsure*, which led the attack,[6] and batter the fort. In this service Captain Porter of the *Convertive* particularly distinguished himself, bringing his ship up close to the fort and keeping up a heavy fire against it. Captain Raymond,[1] of the *Great Sapphire*, the master of this ship (Sir John Bruce), and several ordinary seamen were killed by the enemy's fire. Nearly two thousand shot[2] had now been made against Puntal which showed no sign of capitulating, notwithstanding that the enemy's guns were almost silenced. About four o'clock in the afternoon, Sir Edward Cecil gave orders for the immediate landing of 1,000 men, who were placed under the command of Sir John Burroughs. These troops were ordered to carry the fort by escalade. Cecil directed Burroughs where to land the troops, but, Burroughs thinking it feasible to take the fort by a sudden dash, and not expecting much resistance, inasmuch as the enemy had lately almost ceased firing, proposed to land the troops right under the fort walls and carry the place by escalade.[3] Cecil, knowing Burroughs to be an experienced officer, left the mode of landing to his discretion, and gave orders that scaling ladders should be sent on shore with the troops.[4]

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[1] Churchill, iii. p. 241.

[2] Glanville, p. 42.

[3] Glanville, p. 43; Cecil's *Journal*, p. 9.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

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[1] Cecil's despatch to Buckingham, Nov 8.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] Sir W. Monson sneers at Cecil for waiting to receive the Holy Communion before proceeding to action. No man ever fought worse for asking God's blessing on his work before going into action.

[3] Cecil's *Journal*, p. 11.

[4] Cecil's despatch to Buckingham, Nov. 8.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] The master of Cecil's ship said there was not water enough to carry the *Anne Royal* up to Puntal.—Cecil's *Journal*, p. 11.

The first boat that attempted to land troops under the fort walls was fired into, and Captain Edward Bromigham (Brougham ?), an officer in the duke's own regiment, and Lieut. Proude of the same regiment, were killed.[5] Several soldiers and sailors were also killed by large stones being hurled over the parapet of the fort on to their heads. Seeing the error he had committed, Colonel Burroughs now proceeded to land the remainder of his troops farther off the fort.[1] As soon as all the men were landed and drawn up on the shore, the enemy hung out a flag of truce, whereupon Sir Alexander Brett was sent forward to parley with the governor of the fort. The governor, Don Francisco Bastamente, agreed to surrender the fort on certain conditions, and, demanding an interview with Sir John Burroughs, he came out of the fort and treated first with Burroughs and then with Sir W. St. Leger about the conditions for surrender. The Spanish commander, who had conducted the defence of his fort most valiantly, and who only surrendered when there were none to work the guns save himself, at first demanded preposterous conditions, but, these not being acceded to, he finally agreed to accept Cecil's conditions, which were that the garrison should march out with the honours of war, carrying their swords and firearms, but leaving their ordnance and ammunition behind.

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[1] Captain Raymond met his death in a singular manner. "Mr. George Raymond, when the castle was ready to yield, embracing his master in congratulation for their good day's work, a bullet, the last which the enemy shot, came in at the forecastle, and slew both him and his master in their embrace. —*Court and Times*, i. p. 67.

[2] Sir Michael Geere to W. Geere, Dec 6.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] *Lord Wimbledon's Answer to the Charge of Lord Essex, &c. at the Council-table.* See *Works in Verse and Prose*, by George Lord Lansdowne, iii. pp. 225–245.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] One of these poor officers had his throat cut by a Spanish soldier, who seeing him lying on the ground wounded and unprotected, sprang over the fort wall and butchered his helpless enemy. The Spanish chronicler who relates this incident terms it "an heroic action worthy of record!"—See Geronimo de la Concepcion's *Cadiz Illustrada*, chap. xiv.

The fort having surrendered, the garrison was found to consist of 120 men, who marched out with the honours of war, and were at once taken in boats and landed on the other side of the bay. A garrison of 200 soldiers, under Captains Gore and Hill, was sent into the fort to hold it. The English found their fire had done very little damage to the fort, which was built of a particularly hard kind of stone, but unfinished, for though intended to hold 30 or 40 pieces of mounted ordnance, only eight were found.[2] Before leaving Puntal, the governor boasted that the fire from the ships had done no harm, but as the bodies of several

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[1] Cecil says this was the place he had directed Burroughs to land at.—Cecil's *Journal*, p. 13.

[2] Glanville, p. 48.

Spanish soldiers were found buried beneath some rubbish in the fort, this assertion received little attention. The inner harbour being now secured for the English ships where they could be out of shot of the town, Sir Edward Cecil gave orders that the rest of the troops on board the fleet should be at once landed at Puntal, with all the horses and ordnance.

We must now return to the town of Cadiz.

Don Fernando de Giron, Governor of Cadiz, was at Mass on the morning of Oct. 22, when news was brought him that a large fleet was sighted, making direct for the Bay of Cadiz. Not anticipating the arrival of a hostile fleet, the Governor was at first inclined to believe this was the West India fleet, which was shortly expected. When this idea proved to be a delusion, the Governor took immediate steps for the defence of the town. Many of the soldiers garrisoning Cadiz were absent with the Brazilian and Mexican fleets, so that the town was ill-prepared to resist an attack. Giron liberated a number of galley slaves and entrusted them with the defence of the most important posts.[1] Having done this he at once sent a dispatch to the Duke of Medina Sidonia,[2] then at St. Lucar, acquainting him with the danger Cadiz and the vicinity were in, and urging him to send troops at once to their assistance. Had the English landed at once, instead of waiting a whole day to batter down the fort of Puntal, the town of Cadiz, strongly fortified as it was, could not have held out a couple of hours. Several of the chief towns in the large province of Andalusia received intelligence of the arrival of the English a few hours after the fleet had come to an anchor in the bay.[1] The news reached St. Lucar at five in the evening of the memorable 22nd, and at midnight the Duke of Medina Sidonia arrived with troops at the fortified town of Jerez, from whence he dispatched troops to the bridge of Zuazo[2] which connects the Isle of Leon with the mainland. The same night a thousand men, including infantry and cavalry, with many of the townspeople of Chiclana,[3] Medina Sidonia, and Vejer, arrived at Cadiz to assist in the defence of the town.[4] They came in the galleys of the Duke of Fernandina which crept along the coast under cover of the darkness and arrived at their destination in safety. By Sunday morning Cadiz contained a garrison of 4,000 soldiers,[5] whose patriotism was animated by the noble example of their brave old governor who, suffering at that time from gout, caused himself to be carried about in a chair from which he issued his orders to his valiant lieutenant, Diego Ruiz.[6] However quickly the English troops might land now, they had not the smallest chance of taking this strongly walled city.[7] On the entry of the Duke of Fernandina into Cadiz he found only three days' provisions in the place,[8] but that very day he procured for the town a large supply of stores, by running five of his swift little galleys to St. Mary Port, on the other side of the bay, and bringing back provisions and ammunition. In this service the Spanish boats ran great risk, as they were both chased and fired at by some of the Earl of Denbigh's squadron, but they ran the blockade with impunity, and brought back a precious freight to Cadiz.[1] The war cry had now been raised far and wide, and in a few days troops were on the march from Seville, Malaga, Gibraltar, Lisbon, and many other important places.[2] Tangiers and Ceuta sent their quota, and it is even said that Philip IV., when he heard the news, was anxious to leave his palace at Madrid and march at the head of his troops to relieve Cadiz, but was persuaded by his minister Olivares to await further intelligence before leaving his capital.[3]

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[1] Geronimo de la Concepcion's account.

[2] Son of the Duke who commanded the Spanish Armada, and a great landowner in the south of Spain.

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[1] Geronimo de la Concepcion.

[2] The Puente de Zuazo, so called from the Alcalde, Juan Sanchez de Zuazo, who restored it in the 15th century. It is of Roman foundation.

[3] An old town on the river of the same name which flows into the straits separating the Isle of Leon from the mainland. The Isle of Leon was named after the Ponce de Leon family, to whom it was granted in 1459.

[4] Geronimo de la Concepcion.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Eugenio Caxes' famous picture, now in the Madrid picture gallery, representing the "Repulse of the English, under Wimbledon, at Cadiz, in 1625," depicts the governor sitting in his chair, issuing orders to his officers.

[7] After the partial destruction of Cadiz by the English in 1596 the town was surrounded by walls of great height and thickness, flanked by towers and bastions.

[8] Geronimo de la Concepcion.

The English were occupied all Sunday night, the 23rd, in landing the troops at Puntal, and, such diligence was used that, by Monday morning, all the soldiers were landed, excepting six or eight hundred men on board the Rear-Admiral's squadron, which, being at the mouth of the bay, was far removed from Puntal. Most of the troops being now landed, Sir Edward Cecil took boat and rowed to the Rear-Admiral's ship, the *St. Andrew*, on the other side of the bay, and after a short conference with Lord Denbigh, they both returned to Puntal together.

As soon as Cecil set foot on land he summoned all the colonels to a council in the fort. Before any proposition could be made to them, Sir Michael Geere, captain of the *St. George*, entered the fort and told the council that some troops of the enemy had been seen marching towards Cadiz from the bridge of Zuazo.[4] This intelligence made the Lord Marshal determine to waste no time in consultation, but to march at once to the bridge. He immediately gave orders for the troops to fall in and march against the enemy. Having done this, Cecil appointed the Earl of Denbigh to act as admiral of the fleet during the absence of himself and Lord Essex, who was colonel-general of the land forces, and he forthwith ordered Denbigh to go on board the *Swiftsure* and summon a council to provide for three most important things. These were, *to make provision for victualling the land forces whilst they were on shore; to look after the safety of the English ships; to consider and resolve how the enemy's ships fled up Port Royal Creek might be attacked.*[1] Having given these directions to Lord Denbigh, Cecil washed his hands for the present of his sea command and turned his attention to his command of Lord Marshal of the army.

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[1] Glanville, p. 45.

[2] Geronimo de la Concepcion.

[3] Larrey's *Histoire de la Grande Bretagne*, iv. p. 15.

[4] Cecil's *Journal*, p. 15.

The island of Leon may be compared in shape to a pear lying on its side, with a long stalk attached to it, and at the end of the stalk an excrescence. The pear is the body of the island, the long stalk is the narrow stretch of land[2] joining Cadiz to the body of the island, and the excrescence at the end of the stalk is the elevated promontory on which Cadiz is built. The island is about fifteen miles long, but, excepting Cadiz and the town of San Fernando, a mile or two from the Zuazo bridge, is but little built over, being flat and marshy and yielding nothing but salt, of which there is an abundant crop at all seasons. So abundant is the salt on this otherwise barren island that as you journey from San Fernando to Cadiz, by road, you see innumerable large conical-shaped pillars of white salt gleaming in the sun, which have been built up from the salt collected from the watery swamps that cover a large portion of the surface of the island.[1] It was across this thirsty ground that Cecil intended to march with his troops to the bridge of Zuazo where he expected to encounter the enemy.

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[1] Glanville, p. 50.

[2] This isthmus, which separates the Atlantic from the inner Bay of Cadiz, is in some parts barely 200 yards wide.

The Lord Marshal, with about 8,000 men, marched to a place called Hercules's Pillars, a few miles from Puntal, where they halted and awaited the coming of the enemy, who must pass that way on their march to Cadiz, as this position commanded the entrance to the narrow stretch of land already spoken of. While the troops were waiting for the enemy, Secretary Glanville, mounted on a sorry steed which had been left at Puntal, came into the camp with a message from Lord Denbigh to the Marshal. Lord Denbigh sent Cecil word that he had called a council to advise as to the best course for victualling the army then ashore, for securing the safety of the English fleet, and for speedily attacking the Spanish ships in Port Royal Creek. When Cecil had been informed of the steps taken by Denbigh and the council of war to carry out the orders he had left with the rear-admiral, he expressed his approval of the resolutions arrived at, and sent word to Denbigh to put these resolutions into execution as soon as possible.[2] Cecil also sent the rear-admiral an order to select and arm a hundred sailors to serve on shore as a foot company, over whom Captain Osborne[3] was to be commander, and he gave special directions to Secretary Glanville to inform the rear-admiral, that for want of boats at Puntal messages could not be readily conveyed between the army and the ships, nor the victuals of the soldiers brought from Puntal to Hercules's Pillars and such places further up in the island of Leon as might be hereafter necessary.[1]

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[1] At the time of which we write, viz., in 1625, the island of Leon seems to have been more thickly populated than now, and to have contained trees and villas, which are now conspicuous by their absence, and which since that time have given place to salt lakes and pillars of salt.

[2] Glanville, p. 57.

[3] Captain of the *Assurance*, a ship of 373 tons, belonging to the admiral's squadron.

While Glanville on his sorry steed pursued his way back to Puntal, Cecil put himself at the head of his troops and led them towards the bridge of Zuazo, expecting shortly to meet the enemy.

It would seem that whilst halting at Hercules's Pillars, Sir John Burroughs came and informed the Lord Marshal that none of his regiment had any provisions with them, nor had tasted any food since landing.[2] For this reason, and to guard against a sudden sally from Cadiz, which would have placed the English between two fires, Cecil now ordered Colonel Burroughs and Colonel Bruce's regiments to march back to Cadiz, and keep the road from Puntal open and free from ambuscades.[3] No enemy being in sight, Cecil called the colonels to a council, but, before anything was proposed to them, Lord Valentia brought intelligence that the enemy had been seen marching that way.[4] Without waiting to see if this was another false alarm, or not, the Marshal gave immediate orders for the troops to advance, being unaware, as he assures us, that many of the troops had no victuals in their knapsacks. "If I had heard that those troops which were to march wanted any," wrote Cecil afterwards, in defence of his conduct in continuing to march towards the bridge, "I should never have marched forwards without calling a council."[5]

The troops marched a league further towards the bridge, when, no enemy being in sight, and it being now late, Cecil gave orders for a halt for the night. The place chosen for halting was on a rising ground, where were two or three deserted houses, from which their owners had fled, carrying all their valuables with them, but leaving behind in the cellars a store of new wine, in iron-bound casks, destined for the West Indies.

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[1] Glanville, p. 57.
[2] Cecil's *Journal*, p. 15.
[3] Glanville, p. 59.
[4] *Wimbledon's Answer to the Colonels' Charge*, iii. p. 236.
[5] *Ibid.*

Hardly had the troops halted, before a general complaint was made to the Marshal that the soldiers had no provisions in their knapsacks, and were faint and weary with their march under a hot Spanish sun. At the same time he was informed of the large store of wine discovered in the cellars of one of the empty houses. Remembering the parting injunctions he had given to Lord Denbigh, the message he had received from his rear-admiral, and the reminder he had sent back to Denbigh by Glanville concerning the landing and forwarding of victuals to the army, Cecil naturally expected that provisions were now on their way to Hercules's Pillars, and would soon be within easy reach. Out of humanity Cecil ordered a butt of wine to be served out to each regiment.[1] The result was lamentable, but not surprising. The half-famished soldiers demanded more wine, and, throwing off all discipline and restraint broke into the cellars and broached the casks.[2] In a few minutes the whole army, excepting the officers, was reduced to a state of drunken madness, many of the men shooting at each other and threatening their officers.[3] Remonstrances and blows were quite ineffectual, and the commanding officers were in danger of having their throats cut. What a contrast were these useless drunkards to the splendid fellows who had volunteered to serve under Horace Vere in the Palatinate, and to whom death was preferable to the bad opinion of their commanders.[1] Cecil was in as much danger as his officers from the drunken fury of the soldiers, and when he ordered the casks to be all staved, as quickly as possible, the soldiers attempted to break into the house where Cecil was quartered, and he was obliged to order his guards to fire on the unruly company.[2] "I did never think myself to be in so much danger," wrote one of the chief commanders, "for certainly the enemy with 300 men might have routed us and cut our throats."[3] And so that miserable and long night was passed by the English officers in guarding themselves from the attacks of their own men.

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[1] Glanville says, "a competent proportion of a butt of wine for every regiment," p. 59.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[3] See Cecil's and St. Leger's letters to Buckingham from the Bay of Cadiz, and the anonymous *Journal* as before ; also Glanville, p. 60.

Cecil has been much blamed for taking his troops inland without an adequate supply of provisions.[4] He certainly made many mistakes in this unfortunate expedition, but the necessity of food for the troops did not escape his memory. The boats which were occupied all Sunday night and Monday morning in landing troops, could not also bring provisions to Puntal. The troops were hardly all landed before the sudden rumour of an approaching enemy necessitated an immediate advance. Not only did Cecil, before leaving Puntal, give his deputy in the command of the fleet instructions for sending provisions for the troops on shore, but, he gave verbal orders for the immediate bringing of some provisions to Puntal for the soldiers.[1] He also sent a reminder to Lord Denbigh, about sending provisions after the army, a few hours after leaving Puntal. Before Denbigh had issued warrants for the delivery of certain stores, provisions, and casks of beer to the commander of the fort of Puntal, or notified that officer to receive the same, and how to dispose of them, boat loads of provisions had left the ships and carried their freight to Puntal, where the commander of the fort refused to receive the provisions, alleging he had received no instructions to that effect.[2] Thus was much valuable time lost. As all the soldiers had their knapsacks on leaving Puntal, Cecil doubtless supposed they had food in them, as he says he had given a general order to the sergeant-major-general (St. Leger) that when soldiers landed they should carry victuals with them,[3] their knapsacks being only intended for food.[4] Cecil also assures us that all the gentlemen volunteers, his servants, and even his chaplain, carried knapsacks, or, as he literally describes them, "snapsacks."[5] An army containing nine colonels, a colonel-general, a sergeant-major-general, *a commissary-general* (Captain Mason), and endless captains and subalterns, ought not to have had to depend on the commander-in-chief for filling their knapsacks with food. Cecil has also been held accountable for his troops all getting drunk. This accusation is best answered in his own words.[6]

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[1] It is on record that a sergeant of Vere's regiment was so mortified at being found fault with by his captain (the Earl of Oxford) that he attempted to commit suicide. Carleton to Chamberlain, Aug. 8, 1620.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] See an anonymous *Journal of the Expedition to Cadiz* in *S. P. Dom.* Chas. I., x. 67. This Journal has been attributed to Sir E. Conway, colonel of one of the regiments, but I believe it to have been written by Sir W. St. Leger, as the writer says in referenee to the landing of troops to attack Puntal :—"Sir John Burgh and I were the only colonels that were landed that night," and from Glanville's *Journal* (p. 46) we gather that St. Leger and Burroughs treated with the governor of the fort about terms of surrender.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See *The Charge against Lord Wimbledon*, printed in George Lord Lansdowne's *Works*, iii. pp. 201–223.

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[1] Glanville, p. 58.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Cecil's *Journal*, p. 15.

[4] Wimbledon's *Answer to the Charge*, etc. Lord Lansdowne's *Works*, iii. p. 232.

[5] Cecil's *Journal*, p. 15.

[6] Wimbledon's *Answer to the Charge*, iii. p. 238.

> "I will undertake, that if there should be an enemy's army standing nigh wine, they would run into all danger to satisfy themselves of that delight; for whereas we set guards upon all things that should be preserved, yet set a guard upon wine, of common soldiers, and the guard will be first drunk, as they were in this house[1]; for whereas they broke in at four places where I set guards, when I went to visit one guard the other would be drunk before I came back again; yea, let themselves see, if any man can tell me where an army hath been kept in any order where wine was, I will confess my ignorance. And to prove my argument, Sir John Norris could not do it at [in] Portugal; my Lord of Cumberland could not do it when he was in the *Summer Islands*, for most of his officers as well as soldiers were drunk. . . . And my Lord Vere, in the Palatinate, found some disorders though he had but 2,000, and it was but Rhenish wine, yet for the remembrance of it, it was called the *Drunken Quarter*, as this hath been."

The morning after the mutiny and carousal of the English soldiers, no enemy having fortunately appeared and the troops being thoroughly disorganised, demoralised, and unfit to cope with any body of Spaniards, however small, Cecil called the colonels round him and held a council of war. Taking into consideration the unserviceableness of the troops, their lack of provisions and the unlikelihood of the enemy offering them battle, it was unanimously agreed that it was best to discontinue marching towards the bridge and return to Puntal. However wise and necessary this decision was, it must have been a bitter thing for Cecil to return without having done anything. All Monday he had indulged the hope of having an encounter with the Spaniards. Even when the alarms of an approaching foe proved to be false, Cecil still clung to the plan of marching to the bridge in hopes of lighting on an enemy.[1] Had they got there, there might have been an encounter, as the Duke of Medina Sidonia was guarding the bridge with a small force of cavalry and infantry.[2] But nothing was to be effected with troops whose hearts were in their boots, and their stomachs empty. Therefore Cecil marched back to Cadiz—to join with the other two regiments already sent there. Many of the soldiers, in consequence of their debauch and faintness, were unable to carry their arms, and many of those who could carry them left them behind.[3] A few men who were dead drunk in ditches, close by, were forgotten in the general retreat, and fell an easy prey to the enemy, who preferred facing a few helpless drunkards to encountering an undisciplined host.[4]

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[1] We gather from *The Charge against Lord Wimbledon* (p. 212) that this house in which Cecil quartered belonged to Don Louis de Soto, doubtless a wealthy wine merchant. A family of this historic name is still to be found at Cadiz.

Whilst these events were taking place on land, Lord Denbigh, on October 24, played the part of Admiral of the fleet. Assisted by a council of war, composed of sea commanders, he settled, but too late, the important question as to how the troops on shore were to be provisioned for the next seven days.[5] It was further agreed upon at this council that Sir Samuel Argall, now acting as Vice-

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[1] The bridge ought to have been occupied by the English before the enemy had time to send succour across it to Cadiz. In the 1596 Expedition, three English regiments were sent to the bridge on the arrival of the fleet, and the remaining troops were led against Cadiz. Whatever Cecil's reasons were for going to the bridge, it certainly was a position he ought to have had in his own hands from the very first.—See Churchill, iii. p. 234.

[2] Geronimo de la Concepcion.

[3] Glanville, p. 61.

[4] The English stragglers taken by the enemy were treated most barbarously. Their ears and noses were cut off and their bodies otherwise mutilated. See Cecil's despatch of November 8; and Glanville, p. 70.

[5] The warrants to the captains of ships to send the provisions on shore were not signed till October 25. Glanville, p. 62.

Admiral of the fleet, with his squadron and the Dutch ships, should forthwith prepare for an attack on the Spanish ships in Port Royal creek, which, as was very truly observed at this council, had been too long neglected. Although this resolution regarding the enemy's ships was arrived at about noon on Monday, it was Tuesday morning before this resolution was put in execution, and even then there was much delay, as many of the sailors had gone on shore. A warrant had to be sent to the commander of the fort at Puntal, directing him to proclaim by beat of drum that all seamen belonging to the Vice-Admiral's squadron should repair on board their several ships upon pain of death.[1]

As soon as the wind and tide would permit, Argall, with his squadron and the Dutch ships, weighed anchor and set sail for Port Royal, taking with them a Dutch boy, who had been detained as a prisoner on one of the Spanish ships in Port Royal creek, and who had that very morning effected his escape by swimming to one of the English ships in the bay. A small vessel known as a ketch, with the Dutch boy on board her, was sent in advance of the English ships to sound the channel and point out the best entrance. On coming to the creek it was found, as the Dutch boy had told them, that the enemy had sunk four ships at the entrance to the creek, only leaving room for one ship at a time to enter the channel. Seeing that only one ship could enter at a time and that it would be exposed to the whole fire of the enemy's broadsides, as well as from the batteries which it was shrewdly expected had been planted by the enemy on shore, Argall was reluctantly obliged to forego the attack, and he sent a despatch to Lord Denbigh to that effect. If there was anything wanting to fill Cecil's cup of mortification to the brim, it was the intelligence that met him on his return to Puntal with the troops, that the ships Sir Thomas Love and other sea commanders had assured him were in a net and could not get away,[1] had to all intents and purposes escaped.

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[1] Glanville, p. 63.

This was not the only, though certainly the greatest, disappointment concerning the fleet. In spite of the blockade kept up at the mouth of the bay, several galleys had managed to slip through and bring provisions from St. Mary Port to Cadiz.[2] An unauthorised attack had also been made on the Fort of Santa Catalena, at the entrance of the bay, by Captain Oxenbridge in the *Dragon* and another English ship, in which attack the enemy had decidedly the best of it.[3]

Having returned to Puntal, Cecil went himself to view the outworks of Cadiz, and, finding them to be remarkably strong and not to be taken without a long siege, for which they were unfitted, both as regarded provisions and the incompetency of the soldiers,[4] he consulted with the colonels as to the advisability of shipping the soldiers and leaving Cadiz. It seems to have been unanimously agreed by the colonels that it would be best to ship the army immediately, and, leaving Cadiz, proceed in search of the Plate fleet, which was the chief object of the voyage.[5]

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[1] ——? to Mead, January 27, 1626.—*Court and Times*, i. p. 75.

[2] Geronimo de la Concepcion.

[3] *Ibid.*, and Glanville, p. 65.

[4] Sir Henry Bruce was the only commander in the Cadiz expedition who had a good word to say for the soldiers. He said, or is said to have said, that "he never led more willing men." See *Court and Times*, i. p. 75. It must he borne in mind that Colonel Bruce's regiment was sent back to Cadiz before the army reached the "Drunken Quarter," so they had no chance of disgracing themselves, neither did they have a chance of showing their valour, by an encounter with the enemy.

[5] Glanville, p. 66.

This decision was arrived at on Tuesday evening, October the 25th; and that night the army remained on shore, the Lord Marshal walking the rounds twice or thrice in the night to see all things in good order.[1]

The day the troops were landed at Puntal, they had found on their inland march a store of nets and cork with a dozen large boats for tunny fishing, supposed to be the property of the Duke of Medina Sidonia. Cecil was sailor enough to know that these large boats would be of great service to them hereafter in shipping troops and stores, and would replace those boats of their own which they had lost in the great storm. Accordingly, on his return to Puntal, he sent orders by Sir Thomas Love to several of the sea commanders to send men and boats up the bay, the following morning, to a place on the shore a little beyond Hercules's Pillars, where the boats and nets were stored in a warehouse. To ensure the safety of the English sailors sent on this service, Cecil marched to Hercules's Pillars with seven regiments, on Wednesday morning, and superintended the removal of the boats. By his orders all the store of nets and cork were burnt.[2] Having performed this service, the marshal placed an ambush of 300 musquetiers in some empty buildings there, with directions not to fire on any enemy till within close range. The troops then proceeded to march back towards Cadiz. Soon after this some cavalry of the enemy appeared on the scene, and, sending out some scouts to reconnoitre, the English soldiers in ambush, unmindful of the marshal's orders, fired upon them before they were well within range, whereby they did them no harm, but greatly frightened some of the English troops in the distance who were having their dinner, and who thought the enemy was coming down upon them.[1] It was late in the evening when the troops reached Puntal, and this night they again quartered on land, between the fort and Cadiz, the marshal going the rounds during the night as before.[2]

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[1] Glanville, p. 67.

[2] Close by the place where the boats were stored was found the body of an English soldier with his ears and nose cut off.—Glanville, p. 70.

When Sir Samuel Argall found it impracticable to take his squadron into Port Royal creek, in consequence of the enemy having sunk some ships at the entrance of the channel, he sent word to Lord Denbigh that, for his honour's sake, he would not desist from the enterprise until some experienced sea captains of another squadron had been sent to view the place and certify that in their opinion the undertaking was impossible. Lord Denbigh received this application on Wednesday morning, and immediately issued a warrant directing Sir Thomas Love and Sir Michael Geere to view the channel at Port Royal the next morning, and give their opinion as to the practicability of burning, taking, or sinking the enemy's ships in that creek.[3] Lord Denbigh also issued another warrant, in accordance with instructions he received from Sir Edward Cecil, which was that all captains and pursers of ships in the fleet should attend this day at Puntal to inform the commander-in-chief concerning the state and amount of provisions in every ship, thereby the better to ground a consultation for the further proceeding of the fleet and army.[4]

On Thursday, October 26, preparations were made for evacuating Puntal and re-shipping the whole army. It was Cecil's wish to hold Puntal for a short time, leaving a garrison to hold the fort and part of the fleet in the bay to protect it, while the rest of the fleet went in search of the Plate fleet. But the majority of the council of war, by whose advice Cecil was bound to abide, were against this plan, which was deemed both dangerous and useless. It was therefore settled to remove the ordnance in the fort and carry it on board the fleet, destroying the fort as far as was possible. Cecil sent warrants to the captains of the *Anne Royal*, the *St. George* and the *Convertive*, commanding them to send forty men each to Puntal to remove the eight guns, and carry them on board the fleet. This was done, and six guns were taken on board the English ships, and two on board the Dutch ships, to which squadron they were adjudged as spoil. Sir Samuel Argall being still absent with his squadron off Port Royal, and Sir Thomas Love and Sir Michael Geere having taken no view of the channel there, as Lord Denbigh had directed them to do,[1] Cecil was obliged to send a warrant, under his own hand, to Argall, directing him to return to Puntal at once with his squadron if he (Argall) was convinced in his own judgment, in which Cecil placed every confidence, that it was impossible to follow and attack the Spanish ships. Argall, accordingly, returned to Puntal with his ships, and the task of shipping the troops commenced.

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[1] Glanville, p. 70.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

When the garrison of Cadiz perceived that the English troops were being re-embarked, a body of infantry soldiers, 1,600 strong, sallied out of the town and fell upon the rear of the English. The retreat was covered by Sir Edward Harwood's regiment; and by the exertions and gallantry of their colonel, the enemy was kept back for some time.[2] The Spaniards pressing on in great numbers and firing on the English, Harwood was sore pressed and driven back under the walls of Puntal. So close had the enemy come to the fort that an English soldier in the fort was killed by the enemy's fire.[1] At this crisis the Lord Marshal sent two of those useful pieces of ordnance called "drakes" to Harwood's assistance, which, being placed in an old house near the fort, played on the enemy.[2] At the same time the ships nearest the fort opened fire on the Spaniards, who speedily retreated, and the troops were re-embarked without any further molestation. No one had worked harder to get the troops on board than Cecil himself, though noone got less credit for his exertions and pains than he did.[3] We have it on the good authority of Secretary Glanville, that when the troops were being re-embarked, Cecil rowed from ship to ship giving further orders about the speedy re-embarking of his men, and, more especially, taking care for the shipment of the horses, considering it would be a great dishonour to leave any of them behind.[1]

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[1] Glanville, p. 72. Sir Michael Geere deeply offended Cecil by his disobedience and negligence of the orders sent him. "I cannot forbeare to let you knowe," wrote Cecil to Coke on February 27, "that of all the king's captains Sir Michael Geere hath carried himself worst in his Ma^{ties} service and hath much deceaved my expectation." *Melbourne MSS.*

[2] *Memoir of Sir Edward Harwood, Colonel*, by Hugh Peters. 1642, 4°.

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[1] The Spaniards, who had signalised themselves by no dashing sorties or heroic exploits while their enemy perambulated the island of Leon, now performed, according to their historian, prodigies of valour. The following is the Spanish version of the retreat of the English :—

"Thursday the 5th of November [new style] the enemy, perceiving the unsuccessfulness of their enterprise, and aware that the town contained plenty of provisions and ammunition, in all haste commenced to re-embark their troops, which becoming known to ours, Don Fernando de Giron and Don Diego Ruiz, with 1,600 infantry, sallying forth from the town, attacked them in the rear, killing many of them, made them abandon no small quantity of ammunition, and caused them to embark more hastily than they desired. In like manner the Duke of Medina attacked those who re-embarked at the Isla (?) killing great numbers of them. The only loss we sustained being Don Gonzalo de Inestal, who perished in an ambuscade. The enemy took their dead, and placing the corpses in a galeon, set fire to it, Saturday the 7th, and sailed the same day from the harbour without any further victory than has been mentioned."—Geronimo de la Concepcion.

The last ridiculous assertion that the English put all their dead into one ship and cremated them, arose from the fact of one of the Dutch ships being burnt because she was unserviceable, and the Admiral not wishing she should fall into the enemy's hands. See Glanville, p. 76.

[2] *Anonymous Journal*, vol. xi. 66.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] See the *Charge of the Colonels against Lord Wimbledon*, as before.

> "This charge," says Glanville, "belonged properly to the charge of the Master of the Ordnance [Lord Valentia], but it seemed not to be by him set forward with such diligence as our present condition did require, which caused my Lord [Marshal] himself thus extraordinarily to intend [superintend] it."[2]

It would be interesting to know what Lord Valentia did do in this expedition, beyond giving a false alarm on the day the troops marched to the bridge, and quarrelling with Lord Delawarr about precedence.[3] On the return of the fleet to England, Lord Valentia was one of the foremost colonels to accuse Cecil of neglect of duty, but he said not a word about his own doings, or rather misdoings.

The fort of Puntal was held till Friday morning, the 28th, when it was evacuated, Sir John Burroughs being the last man to leave it. The departure of the troops was celebrated in Cadiz by a *feu de joie*, which was followed by some long shots at the English and Dutch ships as they passed the town on their way to the entrance of the bay, where the fleet came to an anchor.

The curtain had dropped on the last scene of the first act of the Cadiz expedition. The second and last act was now to begin, and it was to be played out on the open sea.

On October the 29th, the wind being fair to carry the fleet to sea, Cecil, who had now resumed the supreme command, after taking the advice of certain sea captains and masters, issued an order "that the whole fleet should forthwith set sail and ply from the Bay of Cadiz to the southern cape, standing off to the westward 60 leagues from the land; where he purposed to spend as much time as might be to look for the Plate fleet,[1] and to keep themselves as near as they could in the latitude of 37½ and 36½ degrees."[2] Soon after the issuing of this order the whole fleet set sail for Cape St. Vincent, and arrived at its appointed station on November the 4th.

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[1] Glanville, p. 74. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 83–8.

> "Though no man on board knew it," says a writer of our day, "the quest was hopeless from the beginning. The Spanish treasure ships, alarmed by the rumours of war which had been wafted across the Atlantic, had this year taken a long sweep to the south. Creeping up the coast of Africa, they had sailed into Cadiz Bay two days after Cecil's departure."[3]

Cecil was of course ignorant of this, and he made all the preparations that were in his power for staying as long as possible off Cape St. Vincent. Before leaving Puntal he had ascertained from the captains and pursers of all the ships in the fleet the state and quantity of the provisions in each ship. From the returns given by the pursers it would seem that there were ample provisions for some weeks longer; but there was a want of fresh water and beer in many of the ships. The provisions, however, were undeniably bad, and, soon after leaving Cadiz, a pestilence broke out among both sailors and soldiers.[4] In consequence

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[1] Sir Michael Geere would have us believe that Cecil only wished to spend time doing nothing. The story of Cecil's whole life gives a deliberate contradiction to this lie. Geere, a man of no note whatever, had deeply offended Cecil by the carefulness he showed in disobeying the Admiral's commands, hence his anxiety to throw discredit on Cecil's conduct in this voyage. See letter from Geere to his son, given in next chapter.

[2] Glanville, p. 78.

[3] Dr. Gardiner's *History of England*, vi. p. 20. There is a great discrepancy in the dates given by various writers as to when the Plate fleet arrived at Cadiz. Geronimo de la Concepcion says *twenty days* after the English had weighed anchor; and Cecil himself heard that it was *five days after* they had left Cadiz Bay. See Cecil to Coke, February 27, 1625-6.—*S. P. Dom.*

[4] Glanville, p. 94. See also letters from various of the commanders, given in next chapter.

On the return of the fleet to England some of the provisions on board the of this, and because some of the ships proved very leaky and unserviceable, Cecil sent twelve of them home, including the horse boats and the prizes taken on October 21st. It was intended to send the sick and wounded men home in these ships, but owing to stormy weather, and the difficulty of removing sick men from one ship to another with a high sea running, many that ought to have been sent home were left behind. Taking advantage of the departure of these ships, Cecil sent a long despatch to Buckingham giving a true account of all that had passed. It is apparent from this despatch that Cecil expected another fleet would be sent out to relieve him and continue the blockade of the Spanish ports.[1] After telling Buckingham what a bad state the fleet was in, he goes on manfully to say, "but I am resolved to beate it out at sea in the continuance of this service."[2] And nobly did Cecil keep his word. In spite of adverse counsels, increasing mortality on board the fleet, which made some of the ships be so short handed that there were scarce men enough to work them, short allowance of food which stunk "so as no dog in Paris Garden[3] would eat it,"[4] a general want of fresh water and candles, and the encountering heavy gales which scattered the fleet in all directions, the soldier-admiral still stuck to his post, watching for the enemy who never came. From the very first

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ships were delivered to Captain Pennington for his ships; and in a letter from him to Buckingham, he says, "The remains of the victuals cause both our men and the French to fall sick daily." February 27, 1626.—*S. P. Dom.*

[1] See Cecil's despatch of November 8 in next chapter. If all had gone well at Cadiz, Buckingham fully intended sending a new fleet to relieve Cecil's force. See Dr. Gardiner's *History*, vi. p. 37.

[2] Cecil's despatch as before.

[3] This was the "Bear Garden" of old London, in the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark. James I. licensed Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn to the office of "chief master, overseer and ruler of our bears, bulls and mastiff dogs" in 1604.

[4] Sir M. Geere to his son W. Geere.

his had been a most unenviable command. The sailors were vexed because Sir Robert Mansell, the Vice-Admiral of England, had not been appointed to the command, and took advantage of Cecil's ignorance of seamanship to thwart his plans and transgress his orders. Joint sea and land enterprises are the bane of one another. Witness the Isle of Rhé expedition in 1627. Witness the expedition against St. Malo in 1758, when General Bligh, acting without the advice of his colleague, Admiral Howe, disembarked the army on an unfavourable point of the coast, where they were set upon by the enemy in great force and compelled to retreat to the ships with great loss.[1] Witness the Walcheren expedition of 1809, where

> "The Earl of Chatham with his sword drawn,
> Was waiting for Sir Richard Strachan.
> Sir Richard longing to be at 'em,
> Was waiting for the Earl of Chatham."

Cecil had to command a great naval and military expedition without any naval colleague to assist him and share the responsibility. He had a council of war to assist him, and his orders were to abide by their advice.[2] One well competent to judge, in giving an account of this expedition to Cadiz, says :—

> "All was left to the direction of men who in reality were no fit judges of such matters, and besides were very soon in point of opinion divided among themselves. . . . want of experience and want of unanimity proved the ruin of the expedition." [3]

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[1] The English had six hundred killed and four hundred taken prisoners on this melancholy occasion.

[2] *The King's Instructions for Sir Edward Cecil*, see Appendix. Cecil says in a letter to Buckingham dated February 27, 1626, "I never swerved from the advice of the Council of War."—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] Dr. Campbell's *Lives of the Adimrals*, i. pp. 533–4.

This same able writer, in referring to the charges brought against Cecil by Lord Essex and other commanders in the Cadiz expedition, says:—

> "The reader, who shall compare these charges with Sir Wm Monson's reflections[1] on this lord's conduct, will discern that he is hardly and unjustly treated. Sir William arraigns him for calling councils when he should have been acting; the officers accuse him for not calling councils but acting of his own head. The truth seems to be he had no notion of a sea command and his officers no inclination to obey him."[2]

On November the 17th, the fleet was still off Cape St. Vincent, beating it out at sea. The complaints of sickness in the fleet poured in now so thick and fast, that it seemed probable there would not be sufficient able-bodied men to work the ships if they did not return at once to England, or put into some port for water and fresh provisions.[3] The fleet being now reunited (excepting the Dutch squadron)[4] and the weather calm, Cecil called a council to deliberate on such a weighty business, which concerned the King's honour and the safety of the whole fleet and army.[5] The matter proposed to the council by the Admiral was, whether the fleet should return to England after the 20th of November, or else make for Bayon,[6] there to water. A long debate ensued as to which course would be best, and the council, taking into consideration that the safety of the King's ships and the rest of the fleet, which had been specially commended to the care of Sir Edward Cecil, depended on a speedy return to England, felt compelled to advise this course.

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[1] These reflections are given in Churchill's *Naval Tracts*, iii. pp. 234–244.

[2] Campbell's *Admirals*, as before, i. p. 534.

[3] Glanville, p. 109.

[4] The vicissitudes of the Dutch squadron are related in a letter from Mead to Stuteville as follows:—"Of the Hollanders who went with ours, in number twenty, three are driven away in the tempest, uncertain whither, no news being yet received of them; seventeen into Barbary, whereof three leaking irrevocably were unladen and fired; the residue, thirteen, are come to Plymouth to receive his Majesty's commands for further service."—*Court and Times*, i. p. 71.

[5] Glanville, p. 109.

[6] The isles of Bayon off Galicia.

> "The debate being ended," wrote Secretary Glanville, "the particular votes of the council of war were solemnly taken, and by the clear opinion of them all, but one,[1] it was resolved and ordered that the whole fleet should stand directly for England, immediately after the expiration of the time formerly set for our keeping the sea to expect the Plate fleet."[2]

Contrary winds again dispersed the fleet, and, on November 22, only twenty or thirty sail were in view of the admiral. The supply of beer was now running short on board the *Anne Royal*, and Cecil was obliged to reduce the allowance of drink to each mess, as there was every prospect of continued gales and head winds. From November 23 to December 8 there was a succession of gales and bad weather, in which the *Anne Royal* suffered much damage, and was left behind by nearly all the rest of the fleet. Not being able to gain an English port in her disabled state, the wind being contrary, the *Anne Royal* had to run for Kinsale harbour, where she arrived on December 11, with 160 sick men on board her, and having lost by death 130, who had been cast overboard.[3] Secretary Glanville[4] thus chronicles the arrival of the *Anne Royal* off Kinsale :—

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[1] Who this councillor was does not appear. Sir W. St. Leger, who was prevented by illness from attending, afterwards sent his written protest against the decision to return to England. St. Leger to Buckingham, December 18.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] Glanville, p. 113.

[3] Cecil's *Journal*, p. 29.

[4] Glanville obtained leave from Cecil to go to the Earl of Cork at Lismore Castle. On arriving there he was seized with a long and dangerous illness, which prevented his return to his ship. Glanville, p. 122.

"Sunday, the 11th of December, about noon, we came into the harbour of Kinsale, not having seamen enough for the fitting of our ship to come to an anchor without assistance of the gentlemen volunteers and their servants, who all wrought with their own hands for the better accommodating of the business. Being come to an anchor we searched our ship, and found her to have now six foot water in the hold, whereby we concluded that if we had kept the sea but a day or two longer we must needs have perished."[1]

The Earl of Essex in the *Swiftsure*, and several ships of his squadron, arrived at Falmouth on December 5.[2] One of his ships, the *Mary Constance*, foundered on the passage home with 120 men; but two officers, Captains Shuckburgh and Hone, of Essex's regiment, with the ship's officers, were saved.[3] Lord Essex hurried up to Court,[4] and gave the King his account of the expedition.

"One by one, all through the winter months," says one of the historians of this unlucky voyage, "the shattered remains of the once powerful fleet came staggering home, to seek refuge in whatever port the winds and waves would allow."[5]

A graphic description of the miserable state of both sailors and soldiers on their arrival in port is given by Sir John Eliot, the Vice-Admiral of Devon, who was an eyewitness of what happened at Plymouth on the arrival of some of the fleet.

"The miseries before us are great," wrote Eliot to Secretary Conway, "and great the complaints of want and illness of the victual. There is now to be buried one Captain Bolles,[6] a landsman, who died since their coming in, and with much grief expressed the occasion of his sickness to be scarcity and corruption of the provisions. The soldiers are not in better case. They are in great numbers continually thrown overboard, and yesterday fell down here seven in the streets. The rest are most of them weak, and unless there be a present supply of clothes there is little hope to recover them in the places where they are lodged." [1]

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[1] Glanville, p. 120.

[2] *Journal of the 'Swiftsure.'*—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] *Anonymous Journal*, xi. No. 66.—*S. P. Dom.*

[4] *Court and Times*, i. p. 68.

[5] Dr. Gardiner's *History*, vi. p. 21.

[6] Captain Richard Bowles, of Sir W. St. Leger's regiment.

Matters were very little better at Kinsale, where Sir Edward Cecil, the man to be most pitied in the whole expeditionary force, still remained, waiting until the *Anne Royal* was made ready for sea.[2] Sir Thomas Love, who had stuck to his admiral through thick and thin,[3] sent harrowing reports to Buckingham of the miserable plight of the ships and their crews. "In this unfortunate journey," wrote Love to Buckingham, "God's judgments have followed us, by sickness, mortality, and otherwise, as well to the country people, where we have come, as to our own."[4] There was no Jonah on board the fleet, but an expedition, which was, as Sir John Eliot's biographer truly describes it, "an attempt to fill the king's empty coffers by a piratical foray on the wealth of Spain,"[5] could not possibly carry God's blessing with it. All who took part in it, from the highest in command to the very lowest, suffered in some way or other. It turned Lord Essex against the king and court party, and made him refuse the post of Vice-Admiral which Buckingham offered him in the following year.[1] Sir W. St. Leger declared his heart was broken. Sir George Blundell declared he would never go another sea voyage, if it pleased God to send him safe home, as he had endured such miseries in the Cadiz voyage.[2] Sir John Burroughs said he felt so ashamed of their ill success that he could not look the duke in the face.[3] Sir Edward Harwood was full of grief at the pitiable state of the army.[4] These were the feelings of some of the chief commanders, and we are told that George Monk, who served in this expedition as a young volunteer, never could speak of it afterwards without shame and sorrow.[5] It is probable that this miserable voyage taught Monk a lesson he never forgot, and was productive of much good to him hereafter when he commanded a fleet at sea. Experience is the best schoolmaster, and the future Duke of Albemarle learnt in the Cadiz voyage what was best to avoid on a future occasion. The last, but not the least, instance of the misfortunes caused by this expedition, is shown in the case of Lieutenant John Felton, who served in Cecil's regiment at Cadiz,[6] and whose naturally "melancholick" disposition, as Lord Clarendon calls it, was heightened probably by the miseries he endured, and above all by his being kept waiting many months for the small amount of pay due for his services.[7] But who suffered more than the commander of this ill-fated expedition? He had lost reputation, friends, and the laurels that deck a conqueror's brow. And what had he gained?

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[1] Eliot to Conway, December 22. See Forster's *Life of Eliot*, i. pp. 270-1.

[2] Cecil remained on board till January 28, only spending a few days at Christmas with Sir Edward Villiers (the Lord President of Munster) at Youghall. Cecil's *Journal*, p. 29.

[3] The Editor of Glanville's *Journal* (Dr. Grosart) is quite wrong in stating that Sir T. Love's letters were "passionately strong against Cecil" (see preface to Journal, p. ix.). I cannot find a single word against Cecil in any of Love's letters.

[4] Love to Buckingham, February 27, 1625-6.—*S. P. Dom.*

[5] Forster's *Life of Eliot*, i. p. 268.

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[1] *Court and Times*, i. p. 126.

[2] Blandell to Buckingham, November 3, 1625.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] Burroughs to Buckingham, January 8, 1625–6.—*S. P. Dom.*

[4] Harwood to Carleton, January 3, 1625–6.—*S. P. Dom.*

[5] Guizot's *Life of Monk* (translated and edited by Hon. J. Stuart-Wortley), p. 5.

[6] See list of Cecil's regiment in Appendix.

[7] See a full account of Lieut. Felton and his wrongs in the next chapter.

Nothing but an empty title! A viscount's coronet could not alleviate the mental anguish he was undergoing, and would undergo in after years, whenever he thought of the command his great ambition had induced him to accept. Far better for Edward Cecil if he had followed the example of Colonel Ralph Hopton, the future Cavalier leader in the Civil Wars, who, though expressly sent for from Mansfeld's army to go with the fleet, and who accepted the command offered him by his king, and came to England, yet, at the eleventh hour, had the moral courage to resign his command and stay at home.

"For the fleet I was willing to be excused," wrote the gallant Hopton, whose courage no man ever doubted, to Sir D. Carleton, "when I saw it went not on the grounds which your lordship esteemed most necessary, when I had the honour to speak with you; and especially that the war is begun without any assurance of money to support it, and, besides, I saw some cause to fear that the fleet is none of the best victualled for a long voyage, and I confess the miseries we suffered in the last journey (though I could hazard myself willingly enough) makes me afraid to have charge of men where I have any doubt of the means to support them."[1]

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[1] Hopton to Sir D. Carleton (?), October 12, 1625.—*S. P. Dom.*

CHAPTER V.

LETTERS AND DESPATCHES RELATING TO THE CADIZ VOYAGE OF 1625.[1]

SIR W. ST. LEGER TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

"MOST EX$^{\text{ENT}}$ LORD,

"I knowe that by these you^{r} Ex^{cie} shall receave a briefe of what hath happened, sithence ou^{r} departure from Plimmouth, I will therefore onelie speake of ou^{r} comminge into the baye of Cales, w^{ch} was on Saterdaie, the 22th of Octobe^{r}, aboute 2 in the afternoone, where wee found in the Roade some 8 shipps. The Admirall of Naples was one of them, that had brought Souldiers thither, and as many Gallies; uppon the sight of ou^{r} ffleete, Cutt their Cables, and by the helpe of their Gallies, they gained a place called Port Reall, some 3 Miles distant from Puntall upp a narrowe cricke, from whence wee did suppose it was not possible for them to scape us. As soone as wee came to an Anchor, a flagg of Councell was hunge oute, and all being mett, wee were of opinion that wee had surprized the place, and that they did not looke for us. Therefore wee did agree to goe upp to the ffort of Puntall, and take that first, for the securitie of ou^{r}, and then to send a Squadron of our shipps to fight with the ffleete. For my part, my Councell was to have them both assaulted att one time, But it was not harkened unto. The firste was executed, for earlye in the Morninge, the Vice Admirall sett saile, where my Lord Marshall, my selfe, and most of the Cheifes, did accompany my Lord of Essex, who came upp roundlie to the Forte; But was as ill seconded by the Newcastle shipps, in whome there are as ill Captaines as ever were in the world; in w^ch^ state many of the Merchant Men are, and especiallie such of them as were in their owne shipps; for all of them went under the Lee of the King's shipps, Notwithstanding they were shewed their duties, and what they ought to have done, by Captaine Porter, who Came so neere the Castle, that had the rest done soe that drewe lesse watter, they could not have looked oute of itt. But his shipp touched a little a ground w^t^hin Muskett shott of the Fort, so that he had a very hott fight for a while. I went to him and carried him ffortie Musqueterres, that did him good service. The shippe being a ffloate, without danger, wee resolved to land ou^r^ Armie, findinge that the ffort was not to be beaten downe, as wee were enformed by the Dutch and English seamen. Sir John Burgh had the honour to have the command, with my Lieu^t^ Co^ell^ and you^r^ Ex^cies^ S^r^ient Maior, Sir John Gibbson and Sir Thomas Thornix; they attempted to land those under the ffort, from whence they were beaten. The Captain of yo^r^ Ex^cies^ Companye being killed there, who had the leading of the first Boate; But they retreated not farre from itt, but putt their boates ashore on the first land they could come att, where they mett but with little opposicon. A bodie of 2,000 being landed, w^ch^ was long a doing for want of Boates, Sir John Burgh summoned the ffort, and they did entertaine a Parley. I was then a shoare, and by the Command of my Lord Marshall made the Capitulacon, W^ch^ was That they should goe oute as men of warrs, with their Armes and Colours flyinge. The[y] stood much uppon their Amonicon and canon, w^ch^ would not be graunted. They marched oute 2 houres after night, and in the ffort wee found reasonable store of Amonicon and 8 Cullverin, 6 of them were taken oute, and putt into the Convertive, The other Two the Dutch Admirall hadd. The next Morninge earlie, being Mundaye, a Councell of warre was summoned, and, as we began to meete, my Lord Marshall was advertised that the Enemie drewe strong from the mayne, and advanced towards ou^r^ Troupes. It was then thought a fitter time for Action then Councell; so that my Lord Marshall, together with all the Chiefes of the Land Armies, drewe to their severall chardges; and the Cap^{ens} of the kings shipps were commanded to Assemble, and resolve speedilie what was to be done against those shipps, and to putt their resolution in Execucon. The Armie marched forwards towards the necke of the land, where wee mett with no opposicon; and being there wee resolved to march towards the Bridge, to breake it downe, and left Co^{ll}. Burgh, and half Co^{ell}. Bruce his regiment to keepe in the Town. But to speake truth to you^{r} Ex^{cie}, the want of Victualls was not knowne untill wee came half waye hither. The daye proving very hott, our men havinge no water, nor victualls, grewe very fainte, and the Marshall, willing to refresh them, gave them some wine, whereof there was good store found in houses by the waie. What with their Emptines and heate, they became so drunke, that in my life I never sawe such beastliness, they knew not what they said, or did, soe that all the Cheifes were in hazard to have their Throates cutt for debarringe of them. Such a night did I never see, nor hope never shall, for my paines were infinite (and such as I thinke I shall never recover); and my Apprehention was a greater vexacon unto me then any thinge, for one 500 men would have Cutt all ou^{r} Throates, and there was no hope to see things in a better Condicon, for our men were subiect to no command, such dissolute wretches the Earth never brought foorth; this, and the want of victualls, made them resolve to drawe backe againe towards ou^{r} shippinge, w^{ch} we did. But, by the waie, I must tell you^{r} Ex^{cie} that wee mett with a Magasine of fisherboates, w^{ch} we conceaved to be verie usefull unto us, for our shipping and landing againe yf occasion were, in regard of the losse of ou^{r} long boates, and to fetch these, Seaven regiments, went 4 miles backe, the next daie, being Wednesdaye. Burgh, Harwood, and Bruce were left to guard the Towne; and Sir Thomas Love came with 200 saylors and some Boates, and Carried awaie these Spanish boates, to the number of 8, very good boates; the same night we marched backe againe to ou^{r} quarter. All this time we had only one Troupe of horse of the Enemyes that did looke uppon us, but never came neere us; only that drunken night and daie they did kill some drunken roagues that laie dead and hidd in ditches. By this time wee had well surveyed the Towne, and sawe daylie before us the gallies goe in and oute with men and provision, w^{ch} wee Could not hinder, and the Towne soe well fortified That wee could not surprize it; and for a siedge wee were not provided, so we resolved to shipp againe with all expedition; being forced thereunto by the extremitie of Raine, that Continued two or 3 daies together, that ou^{r} Musqueteres could have no use of their Armes, w^{ch} on friday wee did. The retreate was left to the 3 Regiments of my Lord of Essex, Valentia, and Harwood. Most of the troupes were shipped before the enemie did discover ou^{r} retreate; But having discovered itt, there fell oute of the Towne some 300 as good shott as ever I sawe, and skirmished very hottlie there, as well as before. Wee found the want of the use of their Armes in ou^{r} men; they made fewe or no shott to any purpose, blewe upp their powder, fledd oute of their order, and would hardlie be made stand from a shamefull flight; but in the end we shipped ou^{r} Armie, under the favour of the ffort, and laye still with ou^{r} fleete. On friday morninge wee waighed and came to an Anchor att S^{t} Mary Port, where I ment once againe we should have landed the Armie, to have watered, of w^{ch} there was greate wante. But before I goe any farther, I must tell you^{r} Exc^{ie} That that daie that we went towards the Bridge, wee did expect the Seamen would have assayled the shipps; but it was not done, nor next daie neither, untill my Lord Marshall came backe, and then it was to late, for the Enemie had sunke 2 or 3 shipps, crosse the Channell, and left one little hole for themselves to come out att, against w^{ch} they had lied all their owne shipps, beake to stearne, so that but one of ou^{r} shipps could have come to shoote att a time, and that onlie with her chase peeces, and all the Enemies broad side to plaie uppon them, wch made the enterprize not feasible, so we left them, to ou^{r} greate dishonour, and came and anchored before S^{t} Marie Port on friday at night, where wee hadd a Councell. Most were of opinion it was fittest to goe and lie of the Southward Cape, and attend the ffleete, onlie I propounded to land ou^{r} Army and march to S^{t} Lucars, according unto what we hadd resolved before his Ma^{tie}. It would not be hearkened unto, the obiections were the illnes of ou^{r} men, and the Seamen said it was a barred haven, and they could not bring our shippinge unto us. I confesse our men are no men, but beasts. But the truth is, more might have beene done, But the Action is to greate for ou^{r} Abilities, of w^{ch} I am so much ashamed, that I wish

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[1] These letters and despatches form a necessary sequel to the story of the voyage to Cadiz. Their contents will show at a glance that they have been chosen indiscriminately, and irrespective of favouritism to Sir Edward Cecil. In justice to the memory of Sir James Bagg, the victualler of the fleet, I have given one of his letters refuting the grievous charge of neglect brought against him. I have also added a letter from the commissioners at Plymouth to his Majesty's Privy Council, which corroborates the statements of Sir. W. St. Leger, and other commanders, as to the miserable state of the troops on their return to Plymouth.

I may never live to see my Sovveraigne, nor your Excies face againe; wch I thinke I shall not doe, for my heart is broken. Wee are now under saile, standing for the Southward Cape; we shall lie in 36½· 37, some 60 leagues of the shoare. Yf god send the ffleete unto us we shall have cause to give him thankes; yf wee misse it wee shall doe nothinge. Therefore send for the ffleete home as soon as yon please, and god send you hereafter a better Accompt of your future ymployemts, then you are like to have of this. The wants of water and beere are greate in the ffleete, wch will force manie shipps backe everie daie, this much I thought my dutie to Advertise your Excie, as being,

"Your Excies,
"humble and obedient servant,
"W. St Leger.

"The returne of these shipps and sicknes
among our men doth force some Worthie
Captaines backe, sore against their
wills, wch would not be lost, yf your
grace intend to continue this employemt.

"from the Baye of Cales the
29th of October, 1625."[1]
Add. "For his Excie."
End. "29° 8bris, 1625,
Sr Wm St Leger conc'ing the
accon of the fleete."

Sir Thomas Love to the Duke of Buckingham.

"Your Grace

"may be pleased to understand, the viiith of the last month wee departed Plimoth, and the second day after wee went out wee found the wynd contrary, Plyeing to the Southward. The xiith of the same ther arose a great storme, betwene the Northwest and Northeast, wch continued two daies and two nights very violent, in soe much that for want of former care this shipp was like to loose her mast, and in some danger to perish with 175 Sea and Landmen, with all o^r^ long boats and one katch. Att that tyme wee were all severed, and not two shipps left together, nor did not meet till wee came to the south cape. Ther was one katch taken by a Sallieman of Warr, and the Sillie [Scilly] Katch suncke by misfortune; these Katches are as improper for these Seas as some of our ships are.

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1625, viii. No. 59.

"The 19th of October, being at the south cape, ther wee tooke a resolution to goe for the barr of St. Lucar, or the bay of Cales, w^ch^ could be first obteyned. Wee arrived in the bay of Calis on saterday the 22th of the same, wher wee found sixe great ships, men of warr, come from Naples, with souldiers and ordonance, to fortifie Cales, and sixe from Brazele, with some five or sixe other men of warr and merchants, and fiftene saile of gallies, wherein was the duke of ffernandeane. Upon our approach the ships and some of the gallies sett saile for Pointall, and others wee forced backe againe into St. Mary Port. My Lord of Essex leading up, went nere the fort of Pointall, but did not recover it, only some Dutch and English played upon the fort all night. The next morning being sunday, my Lord Marshall took a resolucon and appointed forty two saile of English, besides the Dutch, to goe up, who forced the fort in sixe or seaven houres, landed our men, and tooke it in, with the losse of some few men and small spoile to us. In the fort wee had Eight peces of brasse ordonance, whereof the Dutch had two peeces, and wee sixe. Upon our landing wee had notice that Cales had only townsmen in it, w^ch^ did not appeare by their outworks and approaches; besides, they daily putt in men by gallies and boats, w^ch^ wee could not prevent. On munday my Lord tooke a resolucon to goe for the bridge to shutte up the passage ther, but did retorne the next day, by reason of the inability of his men, and their great disorder with wyne, w^ch^ they mett withall.

"On Tuesday my Lord of Essex and his squadron, but not himselfe, went up to Port Raiall, wher the Enimies ships were gone, being the same place wher they sett themselves afire when Cales was taken before, and now had ther hawled themselves into a creeke or Lake, and had sunck at the entrance or mouth thereof three or fower ships to stopp the passage, and had brought ordonance to the next pointe to beate upon us, w^ch^ they attained unto; by reason of raine, fowle weather, and tyme, they secured themselves that o^r^ ships retorned two daies after without doeing any thing.

"The 25^{th} of the same month it was ordered by resolucon in Councell to shipp o^r men againe, haveing no possibility to gaine the towne but by force and longe seige, for w^{ch} wee were not prepared, for o^r men lay in the raine night and day without any covering or harbour.

"Dom ffrederico, that came from Brazzele, wee heard was putt into the Straits with the greatest part of his force to secure Mallaga. Ther be fortie or fifty saile at Lisbone in Portingale. All these parts are fortified by the strengthe of the upland countres drawne downe hether before wee came. But our maine Enimie is fowle weather, of w^{ch} wee daily have our parts.

"It is resolved to send away some 12 or 14 of the coleships, with some two thousand men, and the horse ships, w^{ch} are not now servicable. In the fight wee were in as much, or more, danger of o^r owne men as of the Enimie. The greatest part of o^r Sea and Landmen have neither will nor abilitie. By reason of raine and fowle wether none of o^r Pilotts or men of best experience durst attempt the barr of St. Lucar.

"By advice w^{ch} wee received that the west Indies fleet is not come in, but daily expected, ther is a resolucon taken for us to lye of[f] the Southward Cape, to intercept their coming if wee can, w^{ch} wee indeavour to doe by all meanes. Ther are three ships taken, w^{ch} say they belong to Hamburgh and Callis, and came out Loaden from St. Lucar, which are sent home with their papers and comodities, being conceived to be Dunkerke goods. One of these shipps was taken by Capt. Raimont, who is since slaine; he took out of hur fower barrells of cochaneile, but I have recovered it, and have it aboard this shipp in safety.

"Our weake and leake shipps and sicke men are some trouble, but the worst of all is fowle weather. If their complaints be iust, they will not be able long to indure it. Thus craving pardon for my bouldnes, with desire of increase of all honor and happines to you and yours, I humblie take Leave.

"Yo^r Graces humble servant,
"THO. LOVE.

"Aboard the Ann Roiall,
2 November, 1625."[1]

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1625, ix. No. 10.

SIR GEORGE BLUNDELL TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

"MAY IT PLEASE YO^R^ EXCELLENCY,

"I know you shall have the relation of o^r^ Jornye ffrom better pennes then mine, therefore every pticular I will omitt, only lett you know the wednesday after we cam ffrom plimouth, w^ch^ was the 13 of october, we had so great a storme for many howers that we did all think we should have perished. In w^ch^ storme there was a Ship w^th^ halfe the Kinges horses sonke, and a shpp called the long Robert, w^th^ 138 land Soldyars, too land Cap^tns^, and a Sea Cap^te^. After the storme we mett in some fewe dayes a gayn and bare for Cales, and cam into that port the 22^th^ of ocktober. My lo. of Essex ffirst went In, but was not so well seconded by his own squadron as it did appeare as he might have ben, only S^r^ John Chidley ffollowed him close, the rest did forbeare, by reason whereoff the shippes and Gallyes that weare in the harbor shott at him and thorough him, but gott a way up into a river, and there did sink a bott, as o^r^ Sea men report, so that they could not com at them. That night we came in we began to shoot w^th^ o^r^ shipps at a fortres caled Poyntall, and all the next day, but it was so strong we could not hurt it, so we landed that night some of o^r^ foot soldyars, and some of them in the forte seing we would land, ran a way, yett in the landing we lost yo^r^ leftennant Brimigham and some others. Then S^r^ John Burowes sumoned the Castell, and the Cap^tn^ by his Soldyars was forced to give it up, else he might have kept it long yenough for o^r^ Balling of it. We weare glad to have it, & in it we had 8 peces of Cannon, for w^th^ out that we could never have retired to o^r^ ships agayn, but w^th^ a great deale of losse. After we had it we marched some 9 miles into the land, and so cam back, brought a way 8 or 9 great botes, and burned the houses wher the king of spayne uses to ffish and powder it up [i.e. salt the fish] for the vicktuling of his shipping. We brought a way and spoyled divers great mastes for shippes, and brought a way Anchors and Cables. Haveing don what harme we could, we lay three nightes on shore, and so cam back to o^r^ shippes, for the town of Cales was to well manned & provided every way ffor us to com neare it. In o^r^ retrayt the[y] ffell out of the town, and S^r^ Edward Harwood had the Reare. He had some men hurt and killed, but what number I do not certanly know; but from the first to the last I think hurt and killed and dyed wth sicknes a bout a 100. We are now, and have bene this six dayes, lookeing ffor the ffleet; but I assure my selfe they have warning of us, for they are provided so in every place that we can do no good by land I ffeare. We shewed the Cap^{tn} of the castell the fleet, and asked him how he liked it. He sayd well, but his master would send a better next somer for England. I am sorry the Comissioners for the navy should so wrong the king and his service to say his shippes are ffitt to go to sea, and are not but pached up, though the lyon was left at home. The Raynbow and the dreadnaught must com hom p^{re}sently, they are so leakey and rotten, and so must many other shippes that are in the same case; and we must ffollow, by reason every man cryes out for victuall, and some drink beverige of sider that stinkes worse then carr[i]on, and have no other drink; it hath throwne down so many men that in some shippes they have not [enough] to trim there sayles. We weare towld, so was yo^{r} Grace, that every on[e] had 6 monthes vicktualls and good drink fitt for men; but I beleve you will find it nothing so. But I am a pore man, and dare not wright what I feare; but if your excellency will not be partiall to som you will find a great fawlt in them, but I besech you lett me be no aughter. I am affrayd you have bene much wronged and a bused; every on lokes to his own comodyty, and regardes not the kinges service, so there should have bene provision ffor the kinges horses for 6 monthes, and there was many genevese [Genevese?] provide it, but althowgh halfe of them weare droned [drowned] by the way, and a great many killed and left behind at callis, yet heare is no provision ffor the rest; but we have send them home and the cannon, and what can we do a land [i.e. on shore] wth out ordenance? I will never more be imployed in any Sea viage, if it please god I gett home, for the misseryes are not to be reckned when a mans provisions passe through such mens handes.

"I beseche yo^{r} Grace remeber yo^{r} promise to me to give me the kepeing of a parke to end my dayes in quiett, after 32 years haveing lived this troblesome life. If you help me not I am so ffarr in debt, I shall starve and dye a beggar; but my trust is in yo^{w}. Yo^{r} Excell[e]ncyes message I delivered to my lo. Crumwell, in whose ship [the *Bonaventure*] I go. I towld him how ill you tooke some wordes he spake to you, w^{ch} yo^{r}self had towld him of before. He was very sorry before I cam, and it did twise dwble his greeffe when he hard of it agayn, protesting it should be a warning to him while he lived, and that he thought no harm to you, and that he hath no friend in the world to trust unto but yo^{r} Grace, and that if you take yo^{r} favor from him he perisheth. He hath bene so cast down ever since that untell he heares som comfortable lins or wordes from you he will never look up; he hath ever expeckted by yo^{r} favor to have risen in the world under you, as well as many others have don, who now stand uppon there own legges by yo^{r} grace, and durst never sheed drop of bloud for you, so he sayth he restes unhappy untill he receives som marke of yo^{r} favour, tho I say as from my selfe, by discourse I gather from him. So I humbly besech yo^{r} grace to hold me in yo^{r} favor, because no man loves you better than

"Yo^{r} porest faytheffull
"servant,
"GEO. BLUNDELL.

"from the sea in 36 degrees
this 3 of november.[1]

[P.S.] "I rem'ber my humble service to my lo. of Holland."

SIR EDWARD CECIL TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

"MY GRACIOUS LORD,

"According to yo^{r} Ex^{cies} Commuandem^{t}, and my dutie, I send yo^{r} Ex^{cie} the relacon of o^{r} iourney till the date hereof.

"On Wednesday, the 5th of October, the next day after we tooke o^{r} leaves of yo^{r} Ex^{cie}, about 5 in the morning, we put to sea, the wind standing east north east, it sifted, and at last came about to W.N.W. and N.W. and byW. When being not above 3 leagues from land, and much raine falling, wth a darke foggie weather threatning wind, by the importunitie and reasons of o^{r} sea men, I gave eare to them, and so wee stood in to the shoare, not being able to see land at a further distance then 2 miles. About 7 at night wee anchored in the sound at Plimouth.

"My lord of Essex at Famouth mett wth the same hindrance, and put in againe as we did. I dispatched a ketch to him, wth instructions to meete us at sea wth the first wind.

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1625, ix. No. 15.

"The next day, being Thursday, the wind came out at S.S.W., and fearing fowle weather we did beare in to Catt water and the Hawmoes, for better safety.

"While we did ride there Sr Francis Stewart came to me, and told me the Lion proved so leake againe as she could not goe the iourney, so she is necessarily left behind.

"The xth of October, being Saterday, about five in the afternoone, we sett sayle, wth a wind at E.N.E. Next morning, about six of the clocke, wee fell wth my Lord of Essex, and the shippes that were in Falmouth wth him.

"About nine the same morning we discovered 7 sayle; some of or fleete, bearing wth them, found them to be salt-laden, and no prize, we lett them goe. The wind continued faire enough for us all that day to lie or course, and till 12 at night the tenth day, then fell a Calme, and on the 11th, in the morning, I called a Councell for the shippes to p'fect theire orders, and for the better observing of their squadrons.

"On Wednesday the 12th, about nine in the forenoone, being at prayer, the wind came to the N.N.W. wth faire weather. It served us well. Towards night we had now and then some raine, and about six in the Evening the wind increased much. As it was not sayle worthy, yet being large, we bore or foresaile and spritt saile; the sea grewe so high that we towed or long boate in peeces and lost her, and the loss of long boates was generall; there was not one saved through the whole fleete. The storme was exceeding greate, and lasted wth extremitie above 30 houres, many shippes were in danger, almost to despaire. The long Robt of Ipswch was drowned, wth 138 landmen and 37 sea men; the land Captns lost in the wracke were Fisher and Hacquett, and the Captn of the shipp Gurlinge.

"In this tempest we had experience of the infirmities of the Anne Royall her selfe, notwthstanding she was so much commended for p'fection, and good condition; her Mastes grew loose, her Ordnance to waightie for her, she would not Hull at all; her saylors for the most p'te insufficient and distracted. We were knee deepe in water, and in danger; and one danger it pleased God to prevente miraculouslie, for two of or greatest ordnance in the Gunners Roome, broke loose at once and fell fowle one uppon another, otherwise they had beaten the shipp to peeces. But falling foule thus they gave time and meanes to bring them home to their places againe. In all these perills I must confess of Sr Tho. Love that he used greate care, paines, and iudgmt, for or preservacon in all respects; he played the Captn, Mr Boatswaine, and all, and wth the extremity of labour and enduring fell sicke, and is not yet recovered. Much of the victuall and munition through the fleete suffred spoile. The separacons caused by the tempest was so greate, that till fryday next at noone we sawe but one shipp of the fleete, then we made observacons, and found we were in the latitude of 44 and 8 mints, and we discovered in all 20 sayle of or shipps, whereof 2 were of the kings. The wind continued faire and large wth a Gale; running some 7 Leagues a watch, we steared away wth a short sayle, staying for the rest of the fleete. On Saterday the 15th, about 9 in the morning, we discovered more; that made us 33. At noone we were in the height of 32 and 6 mints; at night we discovered 2 sayle more. On Sonday morning, the wind bearing to the N.E., we steared away S.E. and S.E. and by E. to gaine the shoare. At noone we found or latitude 39 and 54 mints in the Southerne Cape bearing then by Computacon S.E. from us. I gave order for some shippes to looke out for Prize and to returne. In the afternoone came 8 shippes more into or Company, whereof one of the kings. Now we began to make ready for extraordinarie fight; the wind still continued no. Ea. On Monday we were in 38 and 48 mints; from the Topp was descried the land wch was the Rocke of —— (?), from Lisbon bearing E. and by N. some 14 leagues from us. I sent now forth againe to discover the Cape wthout discovering themselves, and to come backe wth intelligence. Tewsday noone or height was 37 and 36 mints. This day I called a Councell to enquire of the sepa'cons and to give strickt charge for the keeping close together. That afternoone came the Convertive to us wth 8 sayle more; next morning we were in the height of the Cape and discovered 11 sayles of shippes a head, wch we chased, thinking they had beene Spaniards, but they proved of or owne fleete. Thus looking abroad we discovered some 30 sayle more to the East ward of us, wch were of or owne, wth my lord of Essex. My lord of Denbigh tooke a small boate, Carvell of Portugueses, that came from the Treceras, and being distressed wth hunger, were glad to be taken; we could learne nothing of them, but that the plate fleete was not come home. This day, the xx, I called a Councell, and lay all day by the lee; the business of this Councell was to advise whether to put in for S^t^ Lucar or Cales Bay, according to the intent of a Councell held at Plimouth where his Ma^tie^ was present, who, uppon the doubtfulnesse of the resolucons, thought good to referre it to o^r^ Consultacons when we should be arrived neare the places, uppon better enquiry of the commodities and disadvantages. It was delivered by the opinion of all the M^rs^ that the Haven of S^t^ Lucar is so barred, as it is hard and dangerous both for going in and coming out, that we could not assure o^r^ selves of making use of the time in that place, for the meeting of the plate fleete, if the oportunitie should be offred us; that it would rather have beene in the power of that fleete to have blockt us up there, then in us to have hurt them, uppon deliberacons, therefore, it was resolved to put into S^t^ Mary Port and Cales Bay, w^ch^ is a large and better Harbour, the passage in and out more safe and easy, and the continent open to o^r^ landing. We bore for Cales Bay, and on Saterday morning, the 22^nd^ of Oct., coming neare the southerne end of the Island, we fell w^th^ 3 sayle, a Dane, a Fleming, and a Hamburgher, w^ch^ we brought into o^r^ fleete. We put into the Bay w^th^ a large wind and faire weather about 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, where there did ride 9 gallies, whereof 2 gott S^t^ Mary Port, and 7 Port Royall; further in the Bay were at Anchor some shippes, 2 of them greate, w^ch^ did cutt theire Cables and went into the Channell of Port Royall, w^th^ the advantage of the wind, the same water and place where the shipps were fired uppon their retreate at my lord of Essex, his Journey to Cales. The Vice-admirall, according to former discipline, put in first and I next. A M^r^ w^th^ an English Barke came from the towne to us, and scaped very hardly; he gave us intelligence of the greate strenght of the towne, and that those 4 Neapolitan shipps had brought souldiers into the towne. Comming to ankor I called a Councell, where I advised both w^th^ seamen and landmen touching the shippes of the Enemie gone into Port royall, and the taking of the fort of Puntall at the bottome of the Bay. The sea-men told me that if I could gaine the fort we had the shippes in a nett. And being so greate a fleete w^th^out the gaining of the Fort betweene the offence of the Towne and it, we could not lye w^th^out much danger, so as I resolved first for the Fort, yet determining the next morning (before w^ch^ time we could have no opportunity) to have imployed the Colliers, who were fittest for the service drawing the least water, against those shippes. But they proved such Cowards, that 20 of them being presently uppon the resolucon of this Councell to fall upp w^th^ 5 of the Hollanders to the Battery of the Fort, those five Hollanders instantly obeyed and plied it the uttermost, to the loss of many men, yet not a Collier appeared in the service the whole night through, nor would have done at all, had I not next morning forced them to it my selfe and brought them uppon it w^th^ threatening and cudgelling, yet when they were at it they would still be in love w^th^ the sternmost, and could find a way to spend their shott uppon o^r^ owne shipps, w^ch^ they did hurt more than they did the Enemie. And in this base fight of theirs the shipp wherein I was my selfe, directing the service, was behoulding to them, for one shott through the sides of her. And they did carrie themselves so ill that we were ſaine to bring some of the kings shipps up to the service, wherein I cannott omitt the mention of Cap^th^ Porter of the Convertive, who laid close home, and behaved himselfe very worthily and valiantlie, to the shame of the Cowardes and the example of honest men. All that can be said in exception to him is, that he brought a shipp of Kings so neare danger, but the Consequence to that purpose will iustiffie him. The Battery continued very hott the whole day, and the Enemie in the fort spent not a shott in vaine, their Cap^tn^, called Francisco Bostiamente, being a man of greate valour and of as greate experience both in the Lowe Countries and the West Indies, and was the only Canoneire himselfe. In this fight were slayne Cap^tn^ Raymond and his M^r^ called Kenton, lamented for his sufficiencie, S^r^ John Bruce, a M^rs^ Mate of Cap^th^ Porters shipp, w^th^ some comon men. In the end we found that all o^r^ shipps service, notw^th^standing the heate of it, would not stirre the fort, then I caused 1,000 men to land under the Comaund of S^r^ John Burgh. Uppon the landing of these, there advanced out of the Towne some horse and some foote, but so soone as they understood us they retired. In the landing Cap^tn^ Bromicham, y^or^ Ex^cies^ Lieut (a valiant gent), and lieut. Prowd, w^th^ some soldiers and saylors, were slaine. The present sight of the landing prevailed more uppon the Fort then all the dayes Batterie could do from the shippes, for they p'sntly put out handkerchiefes for a Parlee, w^{ch} I granted unto to gaine time, the sooner to undertake the shippes and to save o^{r} men ; I gave them the Common quarter of marching away wth bagge and baggage, landing them on the furthest from the way to the Towne. At the giving upp we found 120 men and 8 peeces of Ordnance, of w^{ch} Ordnance, after we had made use of them during o^{r} stay against the Enemie, we had six and the dutch two in proporcon to theire Contract, and they deserved it both for theire readiness and sufficiencie in service. At my view of the Fort it was such as I wondred we gained it so soone, being stored [with] victuall and munition for some dayes ; but it seemes they despaired of a reliefe seing us landed, and feared they should find no quarter if they held out longer. Having landed a p'te of the Armie, we thought fitt to land the rest to take a vew of the Iland, and to find whether the strenght of the Towne did answer to the Report, or not. At my landing I left my lord of Denbigh, vice Admirall, who observed the place wth a great deale of iudgm^{t}. Much to his Comendacons and by a Councell of warre, I appointed S^{r} Samuell Argoll wth a squadron to attempt the shippes in the Channell of Port Royall, but the wind for the present served not.

"I marched through the Iland to shew the Spaniard I was ready for him if he meant to fight, whether by sea or land. On the march o^{r} men fell uppon some houses unaware, where on a soddaine they found a greate quantitie of wine, theire ill Beveredge and theire drye March carried them greedily uppon it, and every draught disordred a man, so as I must confesse it put me to some trouble and care having to do wth the Comaund of a multitude in such a Case that even when they are sober they are incapeable of order, but as it disordred o^{r} men, so it turned much to the spoyle of the Enemie, for the wine to the quantitie of about 600 Tunnes (being a store for the west Indies, and casked up wth iron to that purpose), we did all Stave.

"We found new boates in the Island for the supplie of o^{r} long boates w^{ch} wee lost, and those wth greate labour we brought to the fleete. We thought them a good purchase, seeing that at o^{r} landing many of o^{r} men were kild for want of these boates, and the takeing of them hath hurt the Enemie more somewhat then theire valew, because they did belong to the Tunnie Fishing for the victualling of the Indies; and we have burned theire store houses wth their sayles, netts, masts, and timber laid upp in Magizin for the building of shipes, and the furnishing of them; the valew of the netts alone is accounted at 2,000^{li}. From Monday till Thursday I quartred wth the Armie on land, to omitt no search for the understanding of the place. Uppon o^{r} retreate, the Enemie shewed himselfe in Iland, wth about 4 or 5,000 by estimacon; but they advanced not, only wth some loose men would be still uppon o^{r} Reare to exercise theire spleenes uppon our straglers, w^{ch} they did most inhumanely by cutting of theire eares and noses, and by the mangling and dismembring of them, yet I used the poore men of theires that we toke like Xtians, and let them goe for gods sake, rather then theire owne, considering besides that neither the men nor this inhumanitie could any way do us service.

"The towne I found verie strongly fortified wth a Garrison of about 5,000 men, besides the forces and supplies of things necessarie w^{ch} they might receave by the Gallies, who, takeing theire times creeping along the shoares, especially in Calmes, would have enjoyed that advantage of us, notwthstanding all o^{r} Industrie to hinder them by reason of rowing and shallow swimming, so that we sawe the towne not to be gained wthout a long seidge, and a seige of force w^{ch} we were not provided for, the rather because o^{r} pressed land men (besides theire too small nomber) in all theire Actions have shewed themselves so wonderfullie unreasonable and unsufficient, that his Ma^{ts} officers for that press deserve litle but punishm^{t}, for no Prince or State was ever more abused in this kind; they killed more of theire fellowes then the Enemie did. And I protest I was never so weary of any travaile in my life as I have beene in p'swading these men to comon reason and could not.

"Yet notwthstanding o^{r} owne mens baseness and the Enemies offence, w^{ch} was well followed wth excellent musquetters and reaching peeces, we gott o^{r} men aboard wth little losse, after many houres skermish. And at the last being retired to the fort, the Enemie still pursewing, I comaunded fire to be given to two drakes, w^{ch} laden wth shott did instantlie so scatter the Spaniards that they tooke flight and never came on more. I left 100 musq^{ttrs} in the Forte for the shipping of some horses not yet on board, and for the holding of the place till we should waigh Anchor.

"At my coming on board I did p'ntly send to S^{r} Samuell Argoll to enquire of his successe uppon the shipps in Port Royall; he neither had done any thing, nor could promise to do any thing, for the Spaniards having suffred loss in the like retreate wth his shipps at the taking of Cales, did out of that experience provide for his defence against a second blowe, and had found out other Creekes in that water never knowne to us, where they were ready iust uppon theire putting in, to sinke shipps a sterne of them thwart the narrow channel, w^{ch} did so blocke upp the passage, that the way to them was p'ntly made unaccessible for shipps both of fight and fier, those of fier not having roome enough to be directed uppon them wthout grounding on the one side, or the other, before they could come to endanger them; but as we lay they might rather have fired us, being many, than we could them, being few; and they sent a shipp floating emptie uppon us to trie how it would be able to fall wth a tide, w^{ch} came so dangerouslie that we had reason to feare them, and it served us for a p'swasion to make the more hast away to attend the comming of the Plate fleete, w^{ch} we understood to be o^{r} greatest designe; and therfore by the advise of a Councell we resolved to put to sea. So that on fryday, about 2 in the afternoone, we waighed, and at night came to anchor in the mouth of the bay; by the same Councell the fleete had order to make sixtie leagues from land, and had sett downe for retreate uppon forcible contrary winds, one way Budge Rowe in the straights, and an other way the Isles of Bayon; and in the meane time, As the wind would serve, to lye in 37 & 37 & ½, and 36 & ½.

"We were long before we could fetch the height of the Cape, and, in the meane time, o^{r} landmen fell so sicke that we held it convenient by councell to send some shipps of o^{r} fleete wth o^{r} sicke men, and some others that were faultie and leakie, and the Prizes w^{ch} were foure, 3 of them St. Lucar laden, Callis bound, and Dunkirkes goods. The fourth is a Scotchman, dwelling at Dover, fraited by the Spaniard, out of Biscay wth iron and shipp timber, wherein I have observed how much the king of Spaine labours to increase his navy, giving as much for the fraight as the timber is worth.

"And now I am speaking of the Prizes, I cannott omitt to give yo^{r} Ex^{cie} notice of the losse we have suffred in the missing of Prizes, partly through the want of Pinasses, and partly through the fowlenesse of o^{r} shippes, w^{ch} did not only loose the Enemies they chased, but became a dishono^{r} to his Ma^{ts} fleete in point of sayling.

"And then in an other respect I hold it my duty to let yo Ex^{cie} understand that the sea men are so ill to be trusted wth a Prize, as they will not hold from breaking bulke. Whereof Cap^{tn} Raymond hath left a testimony at his death, having secretly taken to his owne private use a good quantitie of Cochineale, w^{ch} I have since taken into my owne Custody.

"We do purpose to continue here as long as we can uppon these Coasts for the taking or hindring the arrive of the plate fleete, w^{ch} next to the takeing is the best service, by reason the king of Spaine cannot advance his designes so well wthout it, and by o^{r} continued fleete here we shalbe able to promise the defence of the Coasts of England and Ireland, and the blocking upp of Spaine, but this cannott be done but by an other fleete. for by all Computacons o^{r} shipps being so leake and foule, o^{r} men continuallie so decaying, and we having no Randevous but the Ocean, a supplie of victuall will either not find us or come unprofitable to us.

"But I am resolved to beate it out at sea in the attendance of this service till we shalbe forced to change o^{r} course and retire; and I wish of God that we may be able to indure the comming of a second for the p'forming what we have to the keeping of the West India Treasure from arriving Spaine; and then a continuance of competent Fleetes to lye uppon these Coasts of Spaine betweene the north cape and Gibraltar, sufficientlie and closely followed will blocke up Spain, and defend his Ma^{ts} kingdomes; and to the charge and action of this warre, I believe the States will most willingly contribute and venture, by reason they know by long experience that the king of Spaine by any offence at sea cannott els be reduced to Restitution and equall neighbourhood so soone.

"And so w^th^ my hartie devotion to his Ma^ts^ service, and my prayers for Ex^cie^, I remaine,

"Yo^r^ Ex^cies^
"most faithfull and obedient servant
"and soldier,
"ED. CECYLL.

"From aboard the Anne
Royall, the 8th of Nov^br^,
1625."[1]

End.
"A l^re^ written to his Ex.
the 8^th^ of Nov., 1625,
from Generall Cecill
conc'ning the accon of the
fleete."

SIR EDWARD CECIL TO SIR JOHN COKE.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"I have written my particular journall to his Ex^cie^ my Lo. Duke, which I think will bee opened before his returne, if hee bee out of England, as hee did determine at my departure, so that I shall not need to be so particular as otherwise I would.

"All I can say is, that our journeie hath not deceived mee; beeing a winter journeie, finding an enemie so long prepared for us, having no harbour to befrend us; wanting our long boats to land our men, and hardlie a ship of the whole fleete cleane enough for the chase of a prize; yet to our powers with theise inconveniences wee have not been wanting, notwithstanding there is such a crying out of leakes and dangers of the kinge's shippes, which are old and unfitt indeed for theise seas, especiallie in winter. And my shippe hath as much cause to complaine as anie; both for her leakes, the danger of loosing her manie [main?] mast, and her ill condition, refusing by anie meanes to hull in the storme, when shee took in so much water, as all the mariners were forced to work in water up to the knees.

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1625, ix. No. 30. This letter is in a clerk's hand, and is only signed by Edward Cecil.

"Our prizis are yet but 3, laden for the port of Callis (as we judge) with Dunkirkes goods. If their bills of lading be well examined, there will be money (in some measure) found, as well as marchandizes. The Commissarie Generall, by my order, did give forth some buttes of sack to the Colonelles, by way of provision for bevberage, whereof their is a just account kept; and now I am speaking of Cap^{ne} Mason, and his commissary, I must needs recommend him to your Honour, for an honest, sufficient, carefull officer, as any could have beene employed in the place. This sack I granted to the deliverie of, yet nothing neare the proportion demanded. My Lo. of Essex, the Vice Admirall, had a barrell of Tabacco, and my Lo. of Denbigh another, which I could not denie them. And though I might have made myselfe an allowance in some measure, yet I have taken nothing but a few lymons and oranges that would have been spoyled in the passage. The Dutch Admirall looks for a fivth of the Prizes, according to the contract.

"I have had so much adoe to keep the Cap^{nes} that did chase the prizes from breaking bulk, that I know not how to prevent it; first, in regard they are for the most part taken so farre off my ship as I cannot send to them in anie time; secondly, by reason of the meanes and commodities they have for the secrett carriage of the abuse, by putting their own men aboard the prizes; and now that I take a more strict order for the prevention, they grow very lazie, and will hardlie look out for a saile. Cap^{ne} Raymond (now dead) had by this deceit gotten for his private 4 or 5 barrells of Coochenille, which I have, since his death, caused to be brought into mine owne ship, where it remaines upon a safe account, considering there had beene no trusting it loose, abord the Prize again. This kind of stealing is a thing of such custome at sea, that without more wages, and a more particular oath of true service, I cannot see how it will be remidied.

"I have thought fitt, with the advise of the Counsell, to send theise prizes, with some of our worst colliars, and such foote as we can best spare, and the horse boates, because wee find there can but little bee done by land, and not much by sea (considering our shippes proove so faultie already), onlie (if we can) to keepe the Plate Fleete from arriving this part of the winter, for the performeing of which service (our shippes daily complayning, and our men decaying), I can find it to no purpose that my Lord Duke should send a reliefe of victual, for, having no Harbour, wee know not where wee shall bee found. If his Ex^{cie} intend us a reliefe, it may please him to lett it consist rather of another fleete of 40^{tie} or 50^{tie} shippes, strong and cleane, or to give order that a number of this fleete be returned home and made readie to come out againe (whilst the rest staie here), to continue our attendance for the Plate Fleete, which will bee the greatest hindrance to the K. of Spaine's proceedinges that can be propounded, I think; in which service wee that are now at sea will do our best, but by all our computacons wee are not provided to hold out heere longer then Christmas, and I shall bee sorrie to see so good a beginning to this purpose lost for want of a supplie, seeing that so long as his Ma^{tie} shall have a good fleete here at sea, wee maie with good reason hope that England and Ireland will by this meanes bee well defended, and Spaine blocked up. And to this end the States will not bee wanting, because they know it is the true way, and no other; since we have begun with the K. of Spaine to drive him to the defence of himselfe, onlie that hitherto hath offended both us and our frends.

"I have appointed officers for the command of the men and the care of the victual; the men being to remain on shipboard till his Ma^{ties} pleasure bee knowne; and all this gouverned to the advantage of his Ma^{ties} service. And I could wish if his Ma^{tie} resolve to continue a warre, theise landmen maie be bestowed in some guarisons to be exercised to their musquettes, for alwaies to raise new men will bee a charge cast away to our dishonour; but whether it will bee better to have them kept in their countries where possiblie they may live with lesse charge to his Ma^{tie}, I leave to the higher Powers. Besides the sick men, I have sent others for the better guard of the ships wee took (which wee have now found lawfull prize), and some shippes to convoy them, which I refer to his Ma$^{tie's}$ pleasure, whether they shall be returned to us or not.

"There came an Argier man into our Fleete with two Prizes, one of sugars, and an Englishman laden with Spanish goods, some iron and knee timber for shipping; wee detained neither of them.

But hee hath left the Englishman with us, who is now our Prize, and sent with the rest.

"I am to make an humble suite to your Hono^r^, that in regard his Ma^tie^ was pleased by my Lord Duke's meanes, to give me the choise of what place I desired my viscountship, which (at first) I did choose of Wimbledon, that now, upon better consideration, I may have it to bee Lord Cecyll, Vycount Latymer, because it was the antient Title of my grandfather by my mother's side, and now extinguished. This Favour, if you can procure mee, you shall for ever bind mee to bee your servant. And so returning to my sea busines, I remaine,

"Yo^r^ H^rs^ humble servant,
"Ed. Cecyll.

"From aboard the Anne Royall,
the 8th of Novem., 1625."[1]

Sir Edward Cecil to Lord Conway.

"My verie good Lord,

"I assure my selfe that the Particulars of my Journall to his Ex^cie^, the Duke, shall bee communicated to your Lo^p^, therefore I neede not bee so ample, as otherwise I would.

"There are three Reasons that caused me to send away this dispatch. First, my Lord Duke's commandement to advertise his Ex^cie^, with the first opportunitie, of our successe, whatsoever it should bee. The second, for the conveying of the Prizes. And the third, to discharge our selves of some of our sick and unserviceable Men.

"Touching our successe, it proves, as I alwaies imagined of a winter Journeie, with so great a Fleete, neither well provided, nor prepared, against an enemie long warned to defend himselfe, and having no harbour to defend us.

"Five daies after our putting to sea, we had a storme upon us, that lasted above 30^tie^ houres with extremitie. Wee lost one ship with 180 sea and land Men, and the whole Fleete was in danger.

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[1] From the *Coke MSS.* in the possession of Earl Cowper at Melbourne Hall and published in Dr. Grosart's Introduction to Glanville's *Journal*.

"The separacon was such, that if wee had not provided well by instruction, for our Redevous, and had not the wind beene large for our Course, wee should hardlie ever have all mett againe this voyage.

"Wee united within 7 Dais, and, upon Councell, wee stered for the Bay of Cales, where we putt in the 22th of Octo., about 2 in the afternoone. The gallies gott Sct Marie Port, & Port Royall. The shippes in the Bay might have ridde under the favour of the Towne, where wee could not have much hurt them, yet presentlie, upon our comming in, they cutt their Cables, and went into the Haven of Port Royal, where the shippes were fired at, my Lord of Essex his being heere. But theise went with that Resoluc'on, that it seemed they had made their preparac'on before, which afterward Wee found. Comming to Anchor, I did presentlie call a Councell of seamen and landmen, to resolve whether first for those shippes, or first for the Fort. The seamen told mee, if I could gaine the Forte, the shippes were in a Nett; and our Fleete beeing so great, could not ride without the danger of the Fort. Therefore, I fell to the Batterie of it, with shippes, and continued so a whole daie, without stirring it to anie purpose. Then I landed a 1,000 men, whereupon the Fort, though strong, and well provided for some daies, through the mutinie of the soldiers, rendred.

"Having landed part of the Armie, I thought fitt for our securitie to land the rest, the rather, by reason, there were discovered 4 or 5,000 of the enemie's forces in the Iland, and 3 or 4 Companies of Horse, with whome I did choose rather to fight, then to bee surprised.

"Giving order, therefore, to Sr Sam: Argoll, wth the second squadron, to goe upon the Attempt of the Enemies shippes, during my absence, bycause the service both at sea and land might bee advanced together without loss of time, I marched through the Iland, and, at my returne home, those Forces of the enemie appeared, but advanced not. The Towne I found stronglie fortified, with a guarrison of 4 or 5,000 Men, besides the Reliefe that from time to time it might have had by the Gallies. I quartered in the Iland, from Munday to Thursday, and then retired to ship my Men, which I did with little losse, notwithstanding our owne Mens unsufficiencie, and the Enemies offence well followed.

"When I had shipped the whole Armie I went abourd my selfe, leaving a 100 Musquetiers in the Fort, to hold it, till our waighing Anchor.

"At my comming abourd, I sent to S^{r} Sam: Argoll, to know of his successe. I found by him that experience had learned, and prepared them how to defend themselves the second time, and there was no accesse to them; but as wee lay, they might rather have fired us, beeing manie, than wee could them, beeing few; and they sent an emptie ship floating, to trie how it would drive upon us, which came so dangerouslie, that wee had reason to feare them, and it served us for a perswasion to make the more hast awaie, especiallie hearing that the Plate-Fleete was not yet arrived, and yet meant to arrive, w^{ch} wee understand for our greatest designe; and therefore, though wee might have done more by land, wee made all other proiects give waie, and hastend to attend that service, where wee doe now staie for them, in the height of the Southerne Cape, and have given order to the Fleete to spread into such distances as may best serve, for the discoverie and intercepting of them.

"There are 4 prizes sent, 3 of them, S^{ct} Lucar laden, Callis bound, and Dunkirkes goods. The 4th is a Scotch-man dwelling at Dover, laden by the Spaniards, out of Biscay, with Iron, and ship-Timber. Wherein it may bee observed, how much the K. of Spaine labours the increase of his Navy, for he gives as much for the fraight as the Timber is worth; and they have none nearer then Biscay, which maie bee prevented, if a Fleete bee continued upon theise Coastes. The third reason of sending this dispatch (as I said) is our sick Men, which puttes mee in mind of our infirmities and defectes, and I thinke it not unnecessarie, to give y^{r} Lo^{p} an account of them.

"First, the land-Men were so ill-exercised, notwithstanding their long aboade at Plimmouth, to his Mat^{ies} great charge, that when wee came to employ them, they proved rather a danger to us then a strength, killing more of our owne Men than they did of the Enemie.

"Secondlie, they fall sick everie day, and so doe our sea-Men, so fast, that their officers complaine they have not alle men inough sufficient for their watches, in most of the Fleete. And in the Convertive of the Kinges, Cap^{ne} Porter telles mee hee is not able to make 15 in a watch to trimme the sailes.

"Thirdlie, the shippes complaine of leakes, and the Kinges shippes as much as anie, and mine no less than anie of the rest, showing us, how dangerous it is to bring old shippes into so labouring a sea, in a Winter Voyage.

"Fourthlie, the shippes are generallie so fowle, that they cannot follow a chaze, wthout loosing the Prize, and dishonouring our Fleete in point of sailing.

"Fifthlie, we find one want in this Fleete, which in Qu: Elizabeth's time was alwaies furnished. That is, a competent number of Pinasses. In stead whereof, to save charge, wee have now Ketches, that men are so afraid to goe in, as wee have beene often thinking to sinke them, for the safetie of the Men, and now we are resolved to doe it. By reason of this want of Pinasses, I assure my selfe, by the Judgment of the whole Fleete, wee have lost manie a Prize, which would have saved a farre greater charge.

"Sixthlie, our Bevvrage is ill, our water almost spent, and our Victuall beginning to grow short. Wee shall bee forced to water before we would, w^{ch} wee have no place to accomodate us for, but the Iles of Bayon.

"All theise difficulties and wantes I imagined wee should suffer before my parting with my Lord Duke, yet bycause his Ex^{cie} was pleased to command mee for the service, I resolved to undertake anie thing, rather than show anie discouragement.

"I am afraid theise infirmities and defectes will make our Journeie so much the shorter; but wee are resolved to endure all hazardes and ride hereabout in theise degrees of Latitude, to attend the Plate-Fleete, so long as extremitie will possiblie give Us leave.

"But I can by no meanes advise that his Ma^{tie} should send a supplie of Victuall, for having no Rendevous, wee know not where to bee found, and the defectes in other kindes are so many, and so impossible to bee remedied heere at sea, that a supplie of Victuall cannot helpe us, though it came to us, without a second of shippes, which I doe hartilie wish wee maie bee able to attend (but I feare wee shall not, our weaknesses in the Fleete doe so dailie multiplie upon Us), for can his Ma^{tie} continue a Fleete upon theise Coastes, the Coastes of England and Ireland would bee defended, and Spaine blocked up, to the reducing of the Spaniard, to reason and Restituc'on. And, I know, the States will not bee wanting in this Action, bycause they understand it to bee the true way.

"I speake this to your Lordship, as to one sensible of the cause, how it hath suffered, and devoted to the Remedie.

"So I remaine
"y^{r} Lo^{ps}
"humble servant,
"ED. CECYLL.

"from abourd the Anne Royall,
the 9th of Novem., 1625.

[P.S.] "MY LORD,

"Just now, before I could seale up this letter, I received this information, from those sufficient Men, that were appointed for their Judgmentes, to search the Raynbowe of the Kinges, that shee is so extraordinarilie leake as being pump'd to 11 inches, and sounding againe in 3 [hour] glasses, being an houre and a halfe, they found it 18 inches. Besides, there is a leake found about her Head and Hawse, w^{ch} increasing in her Powder-Roome, and continuing there 5 or 6 daies, which no Man knowes how to prevent, they are forced to bayle the water, bycause it will not issue to the Pumpe, and yet now it is faire weather. Therefore I am forced to returne her with this dispatch, whereby your Lo^{p} may see my former Relation of Complaintes was not in Vaine. S^{r} John Chidley, a worthie gentleman, commanding in the Rainebow, was, notwithstanding, not the first that complained." [1]

SIR MICHAEL GEERE, *Captain of the St. George*, TO HIS SON WILLIAM GEERE.

"Ffrom the Ventry, the 11th of Decemb., 1625.

"Lovinge sonn, these are to certefye the[e], and all my frynds, of the pcedinges of our vaige, hether to, vzo, the 8th of octobar wee put out of ffalmouthe, w^th^ a faire Wynde, & 30 shipes moore of oure ffleet to gathar, w^ch^ cam o^t^ of plemouthe, to the nombar of 96 shipes; the 12^th^ a grate storme of fowle weather tooke us, the winde faire, to carry us one o^r^ Jorney, but ded blowe so vehemently, that we ware all saparated, w^th^ the lose of sum of o^r^ shipes, w^ch^ sunck & pereshte, men & all, I havinge but 4 shipes lefte in my company, 2 of the kings & 2 others. The 17^th^ day I had sight of the Sowther Cape, w^ch^ was o^r^ Randevose, whare it plased god to send us the best intelegence for the good of o^r^ vaige, so marackosly as evar was, for a spanneshe boate that was carringe of sartayne passingars, from the Ilond of gracios^e^ to the Ilond of Tersera, w^ch^ is but 20 myles a sondar, was dreven by fowle weather & contrary wyndes to us of[f] the cape, w^ch^ is nere 800 myles a sondar, who towld us that 4 Carricks was paste lately by those Ilonds, home to lishborne, and that there was at those Ilonds 30 or 40 sayle of the Kinge of spaynes men of war w^ch^ attended for the West Endia plate ffleet to gard them into spayne, w^ch^ thare was no dowbtt to be made, but we might a taken them every shipp, but it wold not be aprehended by those w^ch^ I hope can hardly answare it. The 19^th^ Day we mett all oure ffleet to gather, nere the Cape; the 20^th^ the Admorall cald a Counsell, & then concluded to goo for the Bay of Cales. The 22^th^ wee went all o^r^ ffleet into the Bay of cales, unexspected or thowght of by the spanyardes, untell we cam so nere the towne that they knewe us by our fflagges, but took us to be thare west Endia plate ffleet. The Earle of Essex, w^th^ his sqwadron of ships, was apoynted to leade the way, and so ded, very nobley, but not one of his sqwadron cam nere hem at his goinge in; out of port St. Mary cam 9 galles, w^ch^ he a loane in Cowntred, 6 of them skapt, & run a way up to port Royall, & 3 of them he made retorne agayne from whence they cam; 18 or 20 ships lykwise of the kynge of Spaynes great shipes, his men of war, lyinge at Anckar agaynst the towne of Cales, did sett sayle & runn upe to port Royall, dowbtinge the stringthe of Cales coude not secure them from us. And no ordar geven for the surprisinge of them, but all our ffleet came to an Anckar, And then the Admorall cald a Counsell what to do, to to late, w^ch^ was by hem onely ordered, that sarten ships should go that night and Batter the Castell of poynttall, w^th^ thare grat ordenance, whiche they ded all night. The next morninge most of the ffleet was commanded lykwise to goo & Battar the castell, & spent a bove 2000 shott uppon it, and a bout 4 a clocke order was geven for the landinge of o^r^ solders, to Assalt the Castell, & ded land w^th^ lose of men, but ded not attempt it, but martcht by it, a littell toward the towne of Cales, & there made a stand. The Spanyardes in the Castell summoned a parly, yett maney of them runninge a way over the water, yett leave was geven to the rest to depart w^th^ thare armes & collers [colours]. Aftar so manny dayes all spent to no purpose, and our solders landed, w^ch^ was a joyfull sight to me to see, w^th^ so many brave, vallent, & foreward leaders & commanders, & nothinge attempted, nor no Ressestance, no not I dare mayntayne [of] a 100 peld (*sic*) spaynyards, w^th^ thare shott at the farthest lengthe, yett the 28^th^ ware all embarked a board our ships agayne. We set sayle from thence, & cam away & anckord that night w^th^out the bay of Cales, and at mednight like run awayes, went to sea & left 'all. The 31^th^, beinge a bout 20 leages from Cales, at sea, we had sight of 4 ships of the kynge of spaynes west Endia ffleet, which past faire by all our ffleet into Cales or St. Lewacar, very peasably. The 4^th^ of Novemb. we had sight of the Sowther Cape a gaine. Then a counsell was cald a board the Admorall, whose onely will and commande was, we should [with] all the fleet, ly twoo, & againe, in the latetud of 36 & 37 degrees to looke for those w^ch^ ware peasabbly gon home, all redy, & to spend tyme, w^ch^ ware his own wordes, not w^th^standing thare was many complantes of the captayns of the shipes of thare wantes, w^ch^ sum of them had not 8 days drynke in thare shipes, & he to kepe so manny shipes full of wantes & a nomb. of weak solders, he intendinge, I dare sware, not to do anny service w^th^ them, but to spend tyme, as he hem selfe sayd, w^ch^ tyme so ill spent hathe ben the cawse of the deathe of many a man, besyde the great hazard, I doubt me, of many of o^r^ shipes, for we might a ben all in England longe since ; since wiche tyme, w^th^ a great deale of Mortallety, & sicknes in our ships, & many wantes, & great extremety of contrary wyndes & foule weathar, it hath pleased God, w^th^ muche a do, we have recovered a place in Earland called the Ventry, a resonabell safe Road. I was, w^th^ 6 shipes more of our flett, w^th^

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1625, ix. No. 39.

in 10 lages of our owne coast of England, one the 8th of this enstant monthe, but after, with moste extreame stormes & Easterly wyndes we are beaten uppon this coaste, moste of all our sales blowne a way, all Rotten rope, no candels in the shipe, littell drynke & y^{t} stinkinge wattar; to a 100 sicke men 59 deade; twoo Ma^{trs} mates, 3 of my men, and not 10 men abott to do anny service; if^{t} we had not gott in here we had perresht in the sea, w^{ch} I feare me many of o^{r} ffleet will. What will be com of us yett God knowes; I have littell hopes, but the mercie of God; this Contry is not able I dowbt me to furneshe us wth men.

"My comfort is, I thancke god, I have as good a shipe under me as anny is in Cristindom, w^{ch} sayles wondrose well, the best of all the ffleet, well quallefed every way, very stanche, his Ma^{tie} hathe not a moore servisabler shipe in all his navey, but much wronged by reason of Rotten ropes & sayles & in all kyndes of stoares, vzi, one shefte of our sayles, ware the owld Triumphes in the yere 88; and the other sute of sayles, w^{ch} we had for o^{r} best, were the An Royals Cast sayles; our ffore shrowds ware the owld Garlands, w^{ch} it semes served her many yeres, all, boothe sayles & ropes; starke Rattan [rotten?] oure store of new ropes; when we cam to make use of them & to open, the quoyles ware of divers pieces, & the best of them starke ratten, but fairly tard ovar. This shipe had nevar newe sayle made for her sence she was bult, lett all honest men Judge how his Ma^{ties} service hathe ben a bewsed. I greve to wright of many other abewses as in our vittils, our fleshe, cut at halfe the kynges allowance, & that so stinks that I presume hathe ben the cawse of the deathe & sicknes w^{ch} is amongst us; no dogg of parrish [Paris] Garden I thinke will eate it. At oure cominge in here we had but 64 singell candeles in the shipe, w^{ch} was to us as great a want as anny thinge. Thus praynge to the All Mightye god, I may be here supplyd wth men to bring his Ma^{ties} shipe home into England in safety, or else loke not for me. I have taken the best coorse I can. I have written to S^{r} Thomas Butten [Button], who I thinke is at Corke or Kensayle in one of his Ma^{ties} shipes, to take and work the best meanes he may to send me a c men from thence. Commende my love to thy mother, wife & children. I pray god to bless the[e] and thyne, commend me to all; so wth an over tyred boody & a troubled mynde, wth a greved hart, I seace, wth my hope of godes mercis. Amen.

"Thy destressed ffathar,
"MICHAELL GEERE."

Add.
"To my lovinge sonn
Wm. Geere geve these."

End.
"Decemb. 1625,
S^{r} Michaell Geere to his
sonne." [1]

THE COMMISSIONERS AT PLYMOUTH TO THE COUNCIL.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LO^{PS},

"Upon the receipt of your Lo^{ps} of the 6th of this instant, wee tooke care howe wee might best accomplish the tenor thereof, w^{ch} wee have done for those already aryved both sicke & whole, and have herewth sent the particular nomber of them. But for as much, as by the same wee are assigned, only to provide for the land souldiers, that were to come in fifteene sayle of shipps, sent before the rest of the ffleete, and findinge that the whole Armie is likely to aryve wth the first winds, and that maney of them come straglinge in ev'ye [every] day to sev'all ports, as the wind will give them leave. We have thought it our Duties, humbly to understand such farther directions herein as to your wisdoms shalbe thought meete, recomendinge to your grave consideracons the great charge & trouble this small corner of this kingdome hath already undergone, & howe hard a thinge it will be to continue the same, especially this winter quarter; the armie returninge naked & poore, full of sicknes and in great distresse of all necessaries. May it therefore please your Lordshipps to be a meanes to his Royall Ma^{tie} that some of these Regiments may be sent into some other Countries, that soe the burdens may be lestened, the provisions for them the more conveniently made, & the intended service soe much the better performed. And whereas it seemeth that it is your pleasures they should be still continued, at the rate of halfe a Crowne the weeke, a proportion in common opinion too little, especially in the winter season, wch affordes noe other meanes of reliefe, & cheefly for those that are sicke, Wee farther humbly desire some speedy order maie be given for the apparillinge of them; inasmuch as now wee find the greatest part not to have whereth to cover their nakednesse, wch is imputed to be the greatest cause of their miseries, nether by yor Lops tres, or anie other tres that wee have formerly receaved, doe wee find anie order assigned for the mayntenance of the Captaines & officers, whose complaints in some sort are equall wth those of the companies, they beinge gentlemen farr from their ffreindes, and manie of small meanes to support their ordinary expences; and wee presume it is not your Lops pleasure the Armie should be held togeather wthout their service, nether will their paines be small in the accomplishment of what is expected at their handes for the orderinge and disciplinge of them, as is fit they should; nether maie wee omitt to remember your Lordshipps of the necessity of power to be given to put in execution the lawe Marshalle, and that wth as much expedition as is possible, for their extreame miseries will doubtless force them to supply themselves by unjust waies; and soe much the rather for that there hath bin some permisse made unto them heretofore by some of us that both wee would be sutors for better allowance for them. As alsoe for supplies of apparrell, or otherwaies they would have hardly been kept from Mutyney; nether can wee doubt of your Lops worthie cares, as it pleaseth you to intymate for the speedy sendinge downe of monie, whereth to give satisfaction to the Country, to whome we are and must be ingaged for the performance thereof. Even soe committinge the whole to your grave wisdomes, Wee rest in all dutie.

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1625, xi. No. 49.

"Yor Lops humble Servants,

"Nicho. Blake, Mayor.

"Ferd. Gower

"Warwick Hele.

"Willms. Bastard.

"Sam. Rolle.

"Ri. Carew.

"Abr. Champnowne.

"Sampson Hele.

"Alex. Maynard.

"John Scobbell.

"John Ffowell.

"Plymouth the 15th
of December 1625."[1]

Add.

"To the Right Hono^ble^ the Lordes
of his Ma^ties^ most hon^ble^ privy
Councell, these."

End.

"Decemb^r^ 1625.
A tre from the
Com^rs^ at Plymouth."

SIR THOS. LOVE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

"MAY IT PLEASE YO^R^ GRACE,

"In a former that was sent by the Rainbowe & those twelve ships that were dispatched home from the South Cape, I did give your Grace a breife Accompt of o^r^ then proceedinge. ffowertene daies after o^r^ departure from Plimoth wee came into the bay of Cales, wher wee found fifteene saile of gallies, six saile of the kinge's men of warr w^ch^ came out of the Straites with souldiers who had landed them in Cales; sixe or seaven others that were come from Brazele and five or sixe merchant's shipps, upon o^r^ approach the ships cutt their cables being tyde of fludd & went up above pointall and ten saile of gallies with them, wher they made noe stay, but tooke the benefitt of all tides & went up into a creeke, or Lake, at Port Raiall, where the[y] fortified themselves and suncke three or fower ships at the mouth of the creeke that no ships could come in to them, w^ch^ was their security.

"My Lord of Essex Ledd the way in, but by reason of the tide of ebb wee were not alle to recover Pointall the first night. The next morning wee went up about 40 or 50 saile, forced the fort, And tooke it in with eight peces of brasse & some 200 men. Landed our men. That day was spent; the next day order was given for my Lord of Essex his squadron to goe up to trye what they could doe against the ships, but retourned without doeing any thinge.

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1625, xi. No. 71.

"The towne of Cales was stronge & not to be meddled withall, but by seige, for w^{ch} wee were not provided; for the barr of S^{t}. Lucar, by reason of the fowle weather and the tyme of the yeare, none of o^{r} Pilotts would adventure to cary o^{r} ships over. Haveing spent eight daies in this bay wee retorned & tooke a Resolucon to lye of the south Cape to looke for the west Indies fleet, wher wee remained some 20 daies, but could neither see nor heare of them, in w^{ch} tyme o^{r} men fell sicke soe fast, o^{r} victualls proved badd & drincke skant, and many shipps, especially the king's ships, soe weake & leake as wee were forced to sincke one of the katches and to putt the men aboard S^{r} Willm S^{t} Leger in the Convertive, and to take men out of other ships to man the S^{t} George and the Swiftsure.

"By reason of the complaints aforesaid, a Councell resolved to come home, conceiveing that to be the best way for the preservacon of his ma^{ts} ships and the rest of the fleet. In our way homewards wee mett with contrary winds, stormes, & fowle weather w^{ch} made o^{r} shipp prove very leake, and broake o^{r} foreyard & crack't o^{r} foremast, splitt o^{r} sailes & spoiled o^{r} roapes, not without much danger to the shipp. Coming within sight of Sillie, the wind being forcable against us, many of our men dead and most of those liveing sicke & unable to doe service, wee were constrained to seeke an harbour, and arrived here the xith of this month, wher by the help of Capt: Harris and other shipps wee gott in safely, haveing sixe foott water in hould when wee came in. The Rainbowe, the Bonaventure, the dreadnaught, and (wee thinke) the S^{t} Andrew, with my Lord of Denbigh with some tenn or 12 saile more of o^{r} fleet are put into harbour to the westward of this place, for as wee heare ther are some 20 saile in this country.

"My Lord President of Munster hath bene here with us, and hath promised us a supplie of 100 or 80 men, without w^{ch} wee should not be able to sturr out of this place, but must have staid for men to have bene sent out of England. Wee purpose to fitt o^{r} shipp and provide hir with all expedicon, to bring hur away with the first opportunity & faire wind, and as many of the other ships as wee cann, to ease his ma^{tie} of the great charge he is at.

"My humble sute to y^{r} grace is that yo^{w} wilbee pleased to excuse mee for not inlarging in setting downe the defectes, errors, & Remidies of this troublesome iorney, w^{ch} I forbeare till I be soe happie as too waite upon yo^{r} grace to relate a large. Thus with my desire to the Almightie for all encrease of honor and hapines to yo^{w} and all y^{rs}, craveing pardon for my bouldness, I humblie take leave.

"Yo^{r} Graces humble servant,
"THOS. LOVE.

"Kingsale this 17th
December 1625."[1]

Add.
"For the Duke of Buckingham
his Grace.
these."

End.
"17° December, 1625
Sir Tho. Love to my
Lord."

SIR W. ST. LEGER TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

"MOST EXCELLENT LORD,

"I did att large signifie unto your Grace, by the dispatches that wee made by the Rainebowe, from the South Cape, what happened, att our comming unto Cales, and what passed during our aboade there; w^{ch} letters I feare are not as yett come unto your handes; in regard I here not of her, nor of any that did accompanie her home; But I hope, that both shee, and they have recovered Ireland; sethence they left us there hath beene a resolution, taken by my Lord Marshall, and the Councell of warre to come home; why, or wherefore I am not able to saie; neither doe I know any reason, for it, for my indisposition kept me from that meetinge; But when it was brought me home, I did both by word & writing protest against itt, as I shallbe able to shewe your grace hereafter. This daie the Colonells Conway,

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[1] *S. P. Dom*, 1625, xii. No. 2.

Burgh, Harwood, and my self are arrived here with some Seaventeene saile of shipps; where the rest are I am not able to sai, for I have not seene anie of his Matie's. ships these 3 weekes and uppwardes, only my Lord of Denby, whome we left on Tuesdaie last, att night, in a very greate storme; and the next Morninge wee happened to meete with the Reformation in greate distresse, having spent both her Masts; wee had Sir Edward Conwaye, and some other gentlemen oute of her, and wee supplied her with what wee were able, and did resolve not to have parted from her, until wee had brought her home, But a cruell storme parted us the same night, some 20 leagues to the westwardes of Silley; sithence the weather hath beene faire, and the windes good, so that I hope both she, and the most of the ffleete, will be here, and att ffalmouth, this night, or to morrow. I finde that here is order for the billitinge of the souldiers, wch being done, I would beseech your grace, to give me leave to kisse your grace's handes, Although I shallbe ashamed to looke uppon my Sovveraigne or your grace's face, yett not for my owne faults but for other mens. Although I call heaven to witness, that my Counsells, and endeavours, have tended to the Advancement of this Action, I knowe all the Cheiftaines will flie with open Mouth, uppon the Marshall; I neither can nor will excuse him, yet I know they that will blame him most, are not blamelesse, wch your grace will soone discerne when youw have heard what hath passed; to morrow, I will send your grace a coppie of what I writt from Cales, And attend your grace's farther pleasure, And pray for my deare Lord Coventrie,[1] wch happie newes hath somewhat revived me, that am,

"Your Excellencys,
"Most humble Servant,
"W. St. Leger.

"Plymouth the 18th December
1625."[2]

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[1] "Sir Thomas Coventry on Sunday last was sworn of the Privy Councill and made Lord Keeper," wrote Sir John North to the Earl of Leicester, on Nov. 4; "the Solicitor Heath is Attorney General and one Shelton (now knighted) is Solicitor. My Lord Duke's creatures are the men that rise; the King's servants having little hope of preferment."

[2] *S. P. Dom.* 1625, xii. No. 6. Written in a clerk's hand and signed by St. Leger.

Add.
"To his Excellencie
The Duke of Buckingham
his grace, Lord High Admirall
of England."

End.
"18 Decemb, 1625.
S^{r} Wm. St. Leger."

SIR W. ST. LEGER TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

"MOST EXCELLENT LORD,

"And my gracious Master, according unto my engagements of yesterdaie, I send you^{r} Exc^{ie} here enclosed a Duplicatt of what I sent from the South Cape, by w^{ch} you^{r} Exc^{ie} will discerne what small hope I had of doing you^{r} Ex^{cie}, or his Ma^{tie}, service in this expedition; I cannot give you^{r} Ex^{cie} any reason for itt, other than those I have alleaged in my former, only I maie adde this to the former. That I thinke some of the Councell hadd no desire we should do anything, because they would value their Councell given before his Ma^{tie} and you Ex^{cie}, w^{ch} were fraught full of difficulties then, and soe continued unto the end, and that your Ex^{cie} will nowe finde, that unlesse his Ma^{tie} satisfie their greadie appetites with extraordinarie meanes, they will neglect his service; and, as I have formerlie said, I knowe they will all crie out uppon the Marshall; (who I confesse unto you^{r} Ex^{cie} hath not such abilities as I could wish in a Generall) which one my soule they were gladd of, that they might the better shelter their own lash [*lâche*] and timirous Councells. I would not willinglie accuse them all, yet I doe not knowe whome to excuse, for I maie justlie disclaime all their Councells (except two), for I never sawe them goe aboute any thinge, that did either savour of Judgment, o^{r} courage, w^{ch} you^{r} Ex^{cie} will discerne by their Acts of Councell, I speake not (I vowe to god before you^{r} Ex^{cie}) oute of any perticular spleene to any of them, but oute of the anguish of my soule, to see soe brave & soe chargeable a busines so fowle miscarried, my selfe being an Actor in itt; the Armie is in wretched poore condition, for want of health & clothes, and are much decayed in their numbers; the perticulars I cannot yet informe you^{r} Ex^{cie}, if, in regard there is not above 2000 come. I send you^{r} Ex^{cie} here enclosed a list of such shipps as are alreadie arrived here; the Admirall is not yett come, neither can we have any certaine newes of her. But wee suppose shee is driven unto the Westwardes. I here yo^{r} Ex^{cie} intendes a journey into ffrance; I should be gladd to kisse you^{r} Exc^{ies} handes before your departure yf it maye suite, with his Ma^{ties} service, and you^{r} Ex^{cics} likinge, both w^{ch} I have, and ever will preferre before any end of my owne, as becommeth him, that hath vowed never to be any bodies but

"you^{r} Ex^{ces}.
"Most dutifull & obedient servant,
"W. St. Leger.

"Plymouth this 19th of
December, 1625."[1]

Add. "For his Ex^{y}."

End.
"19 decemb. 1625.
S^{r} W^{m} St. Leger to my
Lo^{d}."

Sir James Bagg to the Duke of Buckingham.

"May it Please Y^{r} Grace,

"I am requested by Sir William St. Leger to make this a Cover unto his, w^{ch} with some speed he desires should come unto you^{r} handes

"I can at present only send a list of the shipps arrived in this port. I will make by my officers a survey of the victualls remaininge, of the state and health of the Marriners, and the condition of the shipps; w^{ch} done I will make a faithful relation of it, to you^{r} Ex^{cie}.

"Hadd you^{r} Grace his infinite care, in setting foorth, beene well repayed by the Active part, by those employed, and victory and good successe accompanied the ffleetes returne; then never had there been an Armye, better manned, armed, victualled, o^r clothed. But nowe they will, to preserve their shame, enforce they have wanted in all. My desire ever to serve you^r grace, made me undergoe the heavie loade, & troublesome providing of some victualls, all w^{ch} I rest assured were in good condition putt aboard; yf you^r Grace honour you^r servants so much as to refuse to hearken to generall complaints, I doubt not, but Mr. Lieutenant, and my self, will deserve still you^r favour by freeing ou^r selfes from any perticular.

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1625, xii. No. 18. Holograph signature only.

"For the Lion, shee hath beene enforced to obey the windes so as shee is still here, and hath beene of long readie manned, & victualled for the sea, But nowe by you^r grace his command, given me by the pen of Mr. Secretarie Cooke, I keepe her.

"I have taken in one Captaine Bowser, sometime of Heriotts Company, he doth cast himself to you^r graces feete; what maie be gained by him is a shipp, 14 peeces of ordnance, being Minion, and Sacker; I shall according to instructions give a faithful Accompt. of this. I crave still pardon for my boldnesse, and prayinge for you^r grace, and my blessed Lord of Coventrye, I kisse you^r hand and rest,

"You^r graces humble, & bounden servant,

"JAMES BAGG.

"Plymouth the 20th of
December, 1625."[1]

SIR W. ST. LEGER TO LORD CONWAY.

"RIGHT Ho^{ble},

"My very good Lord, your noble favours promted mee one my landing to salute y^r Lo^p as a sacrifice of thankfullnes to y^r Ho; unto whom I am more bound then to all the world besides, except y^r Lo^s gratious Patron and my noble Generall; but I deferred it until I was able in some measure to Advertis y^r Ho. of the state of the Armie, as well knowing y^r Lo^p to be best able to juge both of them and us. I send your Ho. heere inclosed a list of shuch Captyns, and companys as are already arrived in Ingland, others then that be in Ierland, of which I shall give y^{r} Lo. an account uppon there arival; others there are that I feare will never come. I understand by a letter from the Lords that the gentillmen of this country have binne sutors unto that Ho^{ble} table, to have part of the troops removed into some other adjoyning sheers, but, now that they have sinne them, they agree with us, that it is not well possible to remove them until they have recovered there streanth, and they be new clothed, for the state they now stand in is most miserable, they stinke as they goe, the poore rags they have are rotten, and redy to fall of if they be touched, neither is it a part of them that is this miserable, but the desease is Generall, and some of the inferior officers are in no better a condition to supply thes diffects. My Ld. Treseror hath sent letters for five thousand pounds, which will not be reseaved until most of it be due unto the country for there weekely dyett; creditt heere is none, nor money to be had upon any security this towne or Commissioners will give; therefore I beseech y^{r} Lo: consider what a poore some 5000^{li} is towards the clothing and intertayning of an Armie returned from an ille voyage, the souldiers sicke, and naked, and the officers monyles and friendles, not able to feede them seallves a weeake; this I assure y^{r} Ho. one my credit to be true, which I would intreat your Lo. to take notis that the bare clothing will come to 15,000^{li}.

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1625, xii. No. 22.

"Your Lo^{p} doth expect that the troops should be exercised diligently, of which wee shallbe carfull to see donne as sonne as the men are clothed, and there armes repayred, which will aske some tyme and cost more then the Captayns will ever be able to pay out of 18^{s} a weeke (I meane for the repayring of there armes), at which entertaynment I find few of the Low Country officers will stay, unless the Armie be settled upon the ould footte. It is likewise expected they should watch, which I hould wonderfull necessary, that thereby in a short tyme they may learne what they are now ignorant of, but then y^{r} Lo, may be pleased to take shuch order that the country provide them courts of gard or housses, with some proportion of Fyer for this wintter tyme, which I feare they will be hardly drawne unto; yett I shall use my uttermost indevour to gayne from the country what I may for the advantage of this service as my duty binds mee. One thing more I will tender to y^r^ Lo^s^ consideration, that unles the souldier may have his weekely lendings him seallfe, whereby hee may learne to live one a littil, and by that means draw up there large panches from those full mealls they now have, they will never be souldiers, nor fitt to do his ma^ty^ servis, all which I submitt to y^r^ Lo^s^ better jugment, and I shall most willingly and cheerfully execute y^r^ Lo^s^ commands as one that vous [vows] to bee, whiles hee lives,

"Your Lord^s^
"Umble and obedient servant, redy
"to be commanded,
"W. St. Leger.

"Plimmouth this 29
of Desember, 1625,[1]

Unaddressed.

End.

"December 20, 1625.
S^r^. William St. Leger,
concerninge the souldiers at
Plimouth."

"Extracte out of a lre of the 3rd of Jan., written to S^r^ Dudley Carleton from S^r^ E [dward] H [arwood] fro Plimouth. [Dom. S. P. Chas. I. xviii. No. 8]."

"That one half of the Fleete is arrived in England, most at Plymouth and Dartmouth, and some in divers other Parts, and a good part in Irelande. They misse 18 sayle of w^ch^ they heare nothinge, but some more of them are in ill case if not cast away. Two of the Kings shipps missing, the St. George, wherein is the lo. Delaware, of her they hope well, but of the other w^ch^ is the Constant Reformation they dowbt much, for when shee was last seene shee had spent both her masts.

"That my lo. wimbleton is in Ireland, at Kinsale.

"That the Army is much weakened, and those that are left all or great part of them sicke, and so miserably poore as it is a greefe to see, &c.

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1625, xii. No. 81.

"That the k. hath given order to cloath all the soldiers, but there is no money assigned ether to feede or cloth them, but 5000^{li} w^{ch} should rise out of the Privie Seales of Devon and Cornwall, w^{ch} will not bee presentlie had.

"That they have buried 3 or 4 Capt. since they came, but none of them had money to bury themselves, but what was procured by their friends.

"That the most part of the Fleete is in ill case, scarce a shipp that hath not some maine defect or other, and all generallie want mariners; few have sufficient to trime the sayles. That the sickness is no lesse amongst the sea men then amongst the land men.

"That he heareth my lo. of Valencia is safely arrived in Ireland, but nothing of the rest w^{ch} are missing; they feare some wracke on the coasts both of Ireland, France, and our owne."

End.
"Januarie, 3, 1625.
S^{r}. Edward Horwood,
to S. Dudley Carleton."

Sir John Burroughs to the Duke of Buckingham.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE.

"From S^{r} Willyam S^{t} leger I understand it is your pleasure the collonells should advertise you when my compaygnie is vacant, because your grace reserves the disposing thereof in your own handes.

"Capetayn Groves late deth gives mee occasion of this letter, to whose place S^{r} Charles Vavesor is an humble sutor that you would admit him. I am bould to mention his sute, because in this jorney hee put himself under my comand, and I hope will nether bee unfit nor ungrateful to you.

"The ill succes of this journey makes us so ashamed that, for my part, I am afrayde to appeare to yow but in paper, and, I am sensible that my reputation must be blemished amidst the throng, yet comforted that your grace is so wise and just as to aske account of every mans part, and, where yow find most faults there to lay most censure, and then I hope if others find pardon I may be included.

"The Compaygnies of my regiment lying dispersed and, through thayre weakness and wants, for the present unfit for Excercise, w^{ch} makes me think I am useles here, and, my perticular wthall makes mee humbly intreat your graces leve for my absence. Wth my prayers for your happines, I am,

"Your graces fathfull
"and ever humble servant,
"Jo. Burgh.

"Plimouth 8 of
Januari, 1625."[1]

Add.
"To the duke of
Buckingham his grace,
these."

End.
"R: 30 Jan. 1625.
S^{r} Jo. Burrowes for S^{r} Ch.
Vaversell to succeed Capt:
Groove; for leave to come to
London
&c."

Sir W. S^{t} Leger to Lord Conway.

"Right Hon^{ble}

"My verie good Lord. As long as it shall please my Generall to continue me heere, I must still put yo^{r} honno^{r} in mind of all such things as to my Judgment maie advantadge this service, and make these men usefull for his Ma^{ties} service. I am bould to addresse my lines unto yo^{r} honno^{r} rather than unto any other, because I knowe yo^{r} honno^{r} is best able to Judge what service can be expected from unexperienced men, that knowe not their Officers nor howe to live of a little, much lesse to use their Armes,

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1626, xviii. No. 27.

& untill such a course be taken, as that those things maie be redressd, in my poor Judgmente the chardge of keepinge these men together were better spar'd than spente, for if they continue this course that they are in, they will never be better than newe preste men, in regeard they live at much more ease, and are more plentifully fedd wth their 3 meales a day than if they were at home, and this cannot be prevented by all the care and paines that I can take, unlesse that there be some course taken by yo^{r} honno^{r}, that the Armie maie be paied before hand, whereby the soldiers maie learne [to] live of their meanes, the Cap^{tn} enabled to redeeme their Armes that nowe lye in pawne for the repaireinge, and the soldiers cloathed that now lies a bedd for wante of them. I confesse wee have receaved order from yo^{r} lopp^{s} to contracte and agree for cloathinge wth some propercon of money, but nothinge aunswearable to soe greate a chardge, for wthout present moneys the service is not to be performed, and wthall I doe much apprehend that the materialls are not to be hadd in these countryes, although I am assured the Contrary by some of my fellowe com^{rs} who doe hope to reape some benefitt by the furnishinge of them; but sure I am that we have beene these 3 weeks a contracting for 2,000 suits, although wee have written to all the Markett Townes in Devon and Cornwall, to give them notice of the contracte that wee hadd sente unto yo^{r} honno^{rs}, and when wee have done all wee can, I feere wee must be supplied from London, but this my fellowe com^{rs} will not be drawne to certifie, and, in the meane time this Armie lies as a dead stocke upon his Ma^{tics} hand. Wee have likewise receaved order from yo^{r} honno^{r} and the rest to increase the soldiers weekely lendings unto 3 shillings, wherein I thinke yo^{r} honno^{rs} have done a noble and a greate woorcke, w^{ch} will soe encouradge men to serve his Ma^{tie} that if they were well paid, his Ma^{tie} should never need to presse more, but, as it is nowe, the cuntry is the better for it, but the soldier nothinge, for hee was but too well fedd before; but I heere that they do expresse a greate deale of unwillingnes to serve fore haulfe a crowne in victualls, wthout hope of ever seeing one penny of money. I must still continue my humble suite unto yo^{r} honno^{r} that I maie be enabled to lie here in the quallitie my Generall and yo^{r} honno^{rs} favour hath putt me into, w^{ch} hitherto I have done upon my owne poore fortune. And, in the second place, I do humbly begg that I be not forc'd when I would lysence our officers, or a soldier either, for his Ma^ties^ service, or their own particulars, to have Mr. Mayor, and his Towne Clercke to sign a for lief [furlough] w^th^ me, at w^ch^ I did never repine as longe as the Co^ells^ were here, but nowe S^r^ Edward Harwood is gone, and Co^ell^ Burgh wilbe gone w^th^in these 2 or 3 daies, the officers doe somewhat repine at the Towne Clercks Jurisdiction; it was not soe in S^r^ John Ogles times, and if yo^r^ honno^r^ shall in yo^r^ wisedome thincke it fitt to truste me so farr, I will engage the woord of an honest man yo^w^ shall not have cause to repent it, but, if it be otherwise resolved of, I beeseech yo^r^ honno^r^ that I maie (w^th^ the reservacon of my Generall and yo^r^ honno^rs^ favour) have the same libtie that the rest of my fellowes have taken to themselves, for I should be verie gladd to see my poore familye if it were but for 14 daies, for w^ch^ both they and I shall receave as a spetiall favour from yo^r^ honno^r^, and ever rest,

"Yo^r^ honno^rs^,
"humble and faithfull servaunte,
"W. S^t^ LEGER.

"Plimouth the 28th
of January 1625."[1]

Unaddressed.

End.

"Januarie 28, 1625,
S^r^ William S^t^ Leger
concerninge the pay and
cloathinge the Souldiers.
That his owne meanes may
bee made answerable to his
Imployment. That hee
may have an authoritie
above the Towne Clerke, &c."

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1626. xix. No. 66.

CHAPTER VI.

1626–1628.

"My deeds on seas, in countrey, court, and cittie,
Shalbe unto their songe the final dittie.
On seas from first to last they'le descant on
The honour in Argyiers voyage wonne:
When as stout Mansfield by my stronger hand
Was made returne again into this land;[1]
Which did more hurt unto the English nation
Then since the fabrike of the world's creation;
For then the Turks made havoke of our men
And shipps, and none would spare; which proved then
A disadvantage to our kingdom; next
That to Cales, when as proud CECILL vext,
When Essex for his life was forc'd to fly,
Or else at Cales great gate most basely die.

* * * * * * * *

A navie was prepar'de and richly mann'de,
Where Neptune's angrie waves being past, we land
At Martin's Iland; where landing, march, intrench,
Assault, retreate our men were faine: revenge
Then came too late: the best commander's gone
And many brave soldiers lying tread upon:
Together with shipping off our men; even all
Doth make me call'de a treacherous general."[2]

THE winter was well-nigh spent before H.M.S. *Anne Royal*, with Sir Edward Cecil and Sir Thomas Love on board, arrived in the Downs from Ireland.

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[1] "Refers to Sir Robert Mansell's expedition against the Algerine pirates in 1621, when he had orders "not to risk his ships," hence he did less than nothing."

[2] Part of *A Dialogue between the Duke and Dr. Lambe.* See *Poem relating to George Villiers Duke of Buckingham*, published by the Percy Society in 1862, 29, No. 90.

The reason for the commander-in-chief's tardy arrival in England is fully explained by him in a letter to Sir John Coke, written from the Downs on February 27.

> "I cannot but give you a tast," wrote Cecil to the Secretary at War, "how unfortunate we have been in this winter journey, with the Anne-Royall . . . . and if I had had a good and strong shipp to have kept the seas, the fleete had not quitted me, as most of them did, when we bore homeward, neither hadd I seene Ireland, where I have beene blockt up so long, by reason of the leakes of my shipp, that brought into Kinsale above 6 foote of water in her hold, scarce having had 15 sound men in a watch, to pompe and handle her sayles and her foreyard spent. We stayed in the harbour of Kinsale 7 weekes, and the wind comming to the north west, we put out to sea, but the wind serving but 15 houres, returned to her old corner, which was south east, with some foule weather that beate so much to the westwarde, that had we not recovered Bears Haven [Bearhaven], God knowes whether we had beene driven and (our shipp being so leakie), what had become of us. After 3 weekes we put againe to sea, and by a contrarie wind was beaten into Crooke Haven, so that we have surveyed most of the south coast of Ireland. Here we stayed until the XXVIIIth, at which time the no: no: west, we put to sea the third time.
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> "Thus you see how ill fortune hath haunted us. But that which troubleth me most is to have so many come home before me, in so unfortunate a journey, when there are so many mouths open to do ill offices and untruth hath most creditt, and maketh most impression at the first." [1]

Sir Edward Cecil arrived in London on March 2nd,[2] having left Sir Thomas Lowe in command of the *Anne Royal* at Deal. Before leaving his ship, Cecil expressed his sense of Captain Love's good services in despatches to the Duke of Buckingham and Sir John Coke. To the latter Cecil wrote as follows about his trusty sea adviser:—

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[1] Cecil to Coke (*Melbourne MSS.*) published by the Editor of Glanville's *Journal.*—See Introduction, pp. xliii–iv.

[2] ——? to Rev. J. Mead, 3 March.—*Court and Times*, i. p. 84.

> "If I should not commend him for his care, industrie and sufficiencie for his Ma^{ts} profitt and honour, I should do his Ma^{tie} and my conscience much wrong; besides he has plaid the Capt^{n}, M^{r}, and all other officers in the shipp wherein I have been . . . . and, by his experience and skill, I have learned to do his Ma^{tie} the more service, and to assist him, for we have had few to help us."[1]

Upon his arrival in England, Cecil appears to have at once taken up the title of Viscount Wimbledon, which had in reality been conferred upon him in the previous November, and his letters from henceforth were signed *Wimbledon.*[2] If this title was ill-deserved it had at all events been worked for, and had cost months of unremitting toil and anxiety. It may therefore compare favourably with many of the titles bestowed in the first quarter of the seventeenth century which had cost no display of pluck, no season, however short, of toil and anxiety. It is a melancholy and unpalatable truth that few of the long roll of Barons, Viscounts, and Earls, created by James I., were more deserving of their easily-acquired honours than the soldier whom Charles I., in sanguine expectation of his success, raised to the peerage.

Several very notable events had occurred in the early days of 1626. Charles I. had been crowned King of England on February 2nd, and he had been crowned alone. Henrietta Maria, feeling herself wronged by her husband's intolerance to his Roman Catholic subjects and his open hostility to the French members of her own household, refused to take any part in what she considered a purely Protestant ceremony. The next important event was the meeting of Parliament on Feb. the 6th. This was the second Parliament of this reign, and Charles expected a happy issue out of his many difficulties by the implicit obedience of the new members. The opening of Parliament was attended by a bad omen. The Queen had been prevailed on by her husband to witness the procession from a balcony in Whitehall Palace. At the last moment she refused to go. The King, unable to make her comply with his wishes, had to send for Buckingham to use his influence. The favourite might not have met with better success had not the French ambassador advised her to submit, and accordingly she obeyed. Charles was deeply mortified at others being successful in a matter wherein he had failed. He was soon to discover that in some things his subjects were even more refractory than his wife.

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[1] Cecil to Coke. See Introduction to Glanville's *Journal*, p. xxxix. Sir Thomas Love was made captain of Sandown Castle, Kent, in May 1626, *vice* Sir Charles Glemham, deceased. *Privy Seals*, Charles 1, 7–12 May. He died in Fenchurch parish April 12, 1627, after a fever and ague which brought on "scurvy, dropsy, jaundice, and cough of the lungs." He was buried privately in the choir of Fenchurch Church.—*Court and Times*, i. p. 213.

[2] See Cecil's letter to the Duke in *S. P. Dom.* dated March 15, 1626.

The House of Commons met with a fixed resolution to strike at the root of the grievances which were sapping the life and strength out of a once rich and powerful nation. If the affairs of the kingdom had been in a bad state when the last Parliament had refused to grant the King necessary supplies, before their grievances had been debated and redressed, they were in a still worse state on the meeting of the new Parliament. The lamentable failure of the Cadiz expedition and the miserable state of the troops at Plymouth, called aloud for public enquiry. The past winter had brought many fresh causes for public complaint, one of which was Buckingham's unconstitutional attempt to pawn the crown jewels in Amsterdam, in order to enable his master to carry out some of the political engagements he had entered into without the consent of Parliament. But before attacking the crooked foreign policy of the Government, the Commons determined to attack the man whom they considered to be the cause of all the late national misfortunes. They only wanted an able leader to direct the attack, and the majority of the House would support him. An able leader soon declared himself. This was Sir John Eliot,—orator, statesman, and patriot.

As vice-admiral of Devon, Eliot had been an eye-witness of the setting forth, and of the return of the late great fleet. His patriotic spirit had been deeply wounded by the loss of honour which England had sustained in the late, as well as in former expeditions. His long standing acquaintance, and even friendship, with the Duke of Buckingham had made him loth to turn on his powerful friend, and denounce him as the author of the late national calamities. But the state of the country, and the lamentations of thousands of his countrymen, demanded a speedy investigation and a speedy remedy. The past could not be undone, but precautions might be taken to avert fresh disasters. At the very commencement of the session, Eliot, in a long and powerful speech desired that there might be account given for all monies supplied since 1623, laying to the mismanagement of affairs the loss of thousands of men's lives, in the late expeditions by land and sea.[1]

Having stirred the hearts of his hearers by the boldness with which he demanded an account of expenditure before granting the King fresh subsidies, this noble patriot alluded to the disgrace that had fallen on their arms, and, in a few memorable words, pointed out, but without directly naming, the author of their shame.

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[1] Forster's *Sir J. Eliot*, i. p. 479, note.

> "Sir," he cried, addressing the Speaker, "I beseech you cast your eyes about! View the state we are in! Consider the loss we have received! Weigh the wrecked and ruined honour of our nation! . . . Search the preparation. Examine the going forth. Let your wisdoms travel through the whole action, to discern the fault, to know the faulty. . . . . Is the reputation and glory of our nation of a small value? Are the walls and bulwarks of our nation of no esteem? Are the numberless lives of our lost men not to be regarded? I know it cannot so harbour in an English thought. Our honour is ruined, our ships are sunk, our men perished; not by the sword, not by the enemy, not by chance, but, as the strongest predictions had discerned and made it apparent beforehand, by those we trust."[1]

The immediate effect of Sir John Eliot's speech was to cause the Commons to demand from the Councillors of War an exact account of how the subsidies, given in 1624 for certain special purposes, had been expended, and also as to what advice each councillor had given about the disposal of the same subsidies. This enquiry was merely the preliminary step to an attack by the Commons against Buckingham. Eliot's speech had paved the way for less brave spirits to openly attack the royal favourite, and the House hoped to strengthen their case against him by the revelations of the Councillors of War. But it was no easy matter to make the Councillors reveal the secrets of their board, and it was a still less easy matter to drag the powerful Duke from his high estate. That Sir John Eliot considered Buckingham entirely to blame for the miscarriage of the Cadiz expedition, is proved by the following scathing words which he delivered before the

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[1] Forster's *Sir J. Eliot*, i. pp. 486–7.

Commons on March 27, the anniversary of the King's accession.

> "Now these great designs we know were undertaken, if not planned and made, by that great lord the Duke of Buckingham. He assumed the name of general; he drew to himself the power and sole command of all things, both for sea and land; nevertheless you know he went not in action . . . . he thought it sufficient to put in his deputy, and stay at home." [1]

It is only fair to the memory of the Duke's substitute in the Cadiz expedition to give a character of Lord Wimbledon from the pen of Sir John Eliot himself, before referring to the charges brought against this lord by some of his late officers :—

> "This substitute was S^r^. Edward Cecil, brother to the then Earl of Exeter, a man whom yeares and experience might have spar'd for better purposes and imploiments. His whole time and studie had been spent upon the warrs. He then retain'd in the service of the States the command of a regiment of ffoote. His respect with them for the qualitie of his blood, was no detraction to his meritt. His carriage and deportment were not ill; his presence good; his conversation full of affabilitie and courtship; and in his affection ther was doubted nothing that was corrupt. Facility was the greatest prejudice he was subject to, which rendered him credulous and open to those that were artificiall and obscure. Whereby he became exposed, and subservient to their wills, and was drawne to tread those paths which themselves refus'd to walk in." [2]

On March 6, Lord Wimbledon was summoned before the Lords of the Council to answer certain charges brought against him by Lord Essex and nine other commanders in the late expedition to Cadiz. A contemporary letter-writer gives the following short account of what transpired at this court of enquiry, as it may be termed :—

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[1] Forster's *Sir J. Eliot*, i. p. 518.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 449.

"On Monday afternoon Viscount Wimbledon and the colonels of the army, came before the Lords of the Council, where the viscount to his much prejudice and disadvantage fell into a passion, saying that never man was abused as he; that before his going, and since his return, there had been made libels and ballads to his disgrace,[1] and that some had wished before departure that the voyage might rather not prosper than he should have the honour of it. Whereupon my Lord Essex asked him whether he were the man that had made such wishes against him, and so Colonel Burrows and the rest in order did the like, saving only Sir W. Leger and Sir George Blundell, who, of all the rest, did only adhere unto him."[2]

Wimbledon had a hot week of it. He not only had to defend himself against grave charges of mismanagement in his late command at sea, but he had, as a councillor of war,[3] to withstand the searching investigation which the House of Commons had determined to make him and his fellow-councillors undergo.

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[1] Verses on the expedition to Cadiz:—

"There was a crow sat on a stone;
He flew away and there was none.
There was a man that ran a race;
When he ran fast he ran apace.
There was a maid that ate an apple;
When she ate two she ate a couple.
There was an ape sat on a tree;
When he fell down, down fell he.
There was a fleet that went to Spain;
When it returned, it came again."

See *Court and Times of Charles I.*, i. p. 118. The above verses are given by Disraeli in his *Curiosities of Literature.*

Chamberlain mentions in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, Jan. 19, 1626, that the sailors styled their general "Viscount *Sitstill!*"—*Court and Times*, i. p. 72. This was a good pun on the name of Cecil, but an unjust description of an *energetic* general.

[2] Dr. Meddus to Rev. J. Mead, March 10, 1626.—*Court and Times*, i. p. 87.

[3] A new Council of War, of which Cecil was one, had been appointed in April, 1625.

"On Tuesday morning [March 7], the Council of War presented themselves before the House of Commons," wrote a well known letter writer of that period, "where being demanded whether they had issued the moneys according to the order in the statute, their answer was, that they were not bound to give the House of Commons an account of what they had done . . . . . On Wednesday morning, the lawyers of the House discussed the question whether the council of war were bound by the statute to give an account of their proceedings to the House of Commons, and concluded that the council of war was bound to do it. . . . . On Thursday morning, the Commons propounded a new question to the same council; namely, whether in this last action at sea, and formerly also, their counsels, about the issuing of money had been put in execution, and examined every one of them apart. My Lord Grandison's answer was he was not bound to give an answer. Sir John Ogle required more time to give his answer, and so did the Earl of Totnes. Whereupon Saturday is set down as a peremptory day for them all. My Lord Conway and Sir Thomas Batten [Button] being sick, a comittee is sent to each to examine them. Sir Horatio Vere, Baron Tilbury, is freed from all question by the House in respect of his absence, and the Lord Brooke by reason of his eye (*sic*) and impotency. But when this question is done, the Commons have five more questions in readiness in the Speaker's hand for the same Council of War to answer. My Lord Wimbledon was not as yet questioned by them but will be to-day."[1]

The Councillors of War were placed in a very awkward position by the pertinacity of the House to get to the bottom of all that had received the sanction of their board. If the councillors refused to answer, they delayed, perhaps even prevented, the grant of money for which the King was in such sore need. If, on the other hand, they laid bare their counsels to their merciless inquisitors, they would probably implicate both themselves and the government. In this dilemma, Charles came to their rescue. He sent

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[1] Dr. Meddus to Mead, March 10.

Lord Conway a form of answer on March 10, with directions that he and all the other councillors were to give this answer to the House when summoned to give their final answer. In consequence of this command, the Councillors of War sent the following answer to the Commons on March 11:—

> "Wee have endeavoured to give all possible satisfaction to this honourable house, touching the question you have been pleased to propound unto us. And, taking into our consideration the dutie we owe as counsellors of the warre unto his Ma^{tie}, and the due respect we have unto this house, in discharge thereof we have humbly besought his Ma$^{tie's}$ pleasure therein, whoe hath bin gratiously pleased thus to direct us.
>
> "His Ma^{tie} hath given us leave to give an accompt of o^{r} warrants to the Treasury, for the disbursement of the subsidies last given in the time of his Royall father, which is clearely warranted by the Act of Parliament. But, concerning o^{r} counsells and the following thereof, his Ma^{tie} hath directly forbidden us to give any accompt, as being against his service to divulge those secretts, and expresly against our oath as counsellors of warr."[1]

This decisive answer obliged the Commons to desist from their enquiry.

Some of the principal charges brought against Lord Wimbledon by certain of his officers have already been referred to, and, as it would be impossible to go into them thoroughly and give his lordship's lengthy answer, both the accusation and defence must be omitted. The charges were made and superscribed by the Earl of Essex, Sir Charles Rick, Sir Edward Harwood, Lord Valentia, Sir Edward Conway, Sir John Burgh, Lord Cromwell, Sir Michael Gore (*sic*), Sir John Watts, and Sir John Chudleigh.[1] Of these ten officers, Colonels Burroughs and Harwood were the only two who had been regularly brought up in the military profession. Lord Essex had accompanied Sir Horace Vere to the Palatinate in 1620, but he did not stay long enough there to see any active service. He saw the enemy once, but never drew sword against him.[2] Essex had been under Wimbledon's command in the winter campaign of 1624–5, when the latter had command of the British troops at Waelwick.

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[1] *S. P. Dom.*—Chas. I. xxiii. No. 58; Coke to Conway, sending amended form of answer, March 10, xxii. 57, 60.

"The Earl of Essex and he," says the biographer of the former, in speaking of Wimbledon, "were great friends, and therefore the king sent for the Earl, and prevailed upon him to go the voyage in quality of Vice-Admiral."[3]

Essex, like his unhappy father, could ill brook control,[4] and he wanted the experience which another ten years of campaigning would, and did, give him.

"His complaints," says an able and impartial modern writer, in referring to Lord Essex, "had begun before the expedition sailed."[5]

This same writer goes on to say:—

"Poor Wimbledon's was a hard case; for though, as general, he had all the responsibility for capacity, or otherwise, in those he commanded, Buckingham, as generalissimo, had made patronage of all the appointments."[6]

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[1] The charges against Lord Wimbledon and his reply thereto, are published at the end of vol. iii. of *Works in Verse and Prose*, by George Granville, Lord Lansdowne. (Edit. 1736, 12°).

[2] Dr. Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, iii. p. 388, note.

[3] *Biographia Britannica*, Art., Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex.

[4] Lord Essex refused to serve under General Sir Charles Morgan in Germany. "My Lord of Essex, I am told," wrote Dudley Carleton, junior, to Lord Conway, "will leave his regiment rather than be commanded by any English general, or other less than the King of Denmark." Nov. 18, 1626. —*S. P. Holland.*

[5] Forster's *Life of Sir J. Eliot*, i. p. 457.

[6] *Ibid.*, 457, note.

Chief among those who took no part in the accusation of their general, were Sir William St. Leger,[1] Sir George Blundell, and Sir Richard Greenville.[2] The last-named officer was a born soldier, and played a conspicuous part in the civil wars which were soon to rend England in twain.

"He commanded a company of foot," says Greenville's biographer, "in that body of land troops employed in the expedition against Cadiz under the Lord Viscount Wimbledon. In this disastrous enterprise he was a diligent observer, and was very far from having any share in that remonstrance made against the Commander-in-chief. Captain Greenvile was, from the beginning, a lover of discipline, and could not endure to see men raised to command by their experience run down by such as having a prejudice to their persons, tortured their capacities to find objection to their conduct." [3]

It has been supposed that Sir Richard Greenville helped Lord Wimbledon with his written answer to the charges made against him by the colonels[4]; but there is no conclusive proof that such was the case. The vindication was certainly an able one, and Lord Wimbledon himself says at the end of it that he had only two days to make it in, while his adversaries had fourteen days to compound theirs.[5] Some of the home-thrusts in this "answer" are very like Edward Cecil's style, for instance:—"No man is born a soldier, though a man may be too soon after he is born a colonel." [6]

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[1] Sir W. St. Leger was made President of Munster in 1627 and in 1639 was appointed Serjeant-Major-General of the army in Ireland. He died in 1642.

[2] Brother to Sir Bevil Greenville. He was born in 1600 and at eighteen entered the service of the States. Served also in the Palatinate and in the expeditions to Cadiz and the Island of Rhé. In the Civil Wars he was appointed general of the Royal forces in the West. He died at Ghent some years before the Restoration.

[3] *Biog. Brit.* Art. Richard Greenvile.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] See the end of Wimbledon's *Answer.*

[6] *Ibid.*

On March 15, Wimbledon wrote to his patron, the Duke of Buckingham, from his house at Wimbledon, praying that the Duke would allow him a fair hearing, and not be prejudiced by what had already been told him.

"Therefore my suit to y^r Ex^{cie}, is that you will do me the favour to forgett all that hath been tould you," wrote Wimbledon to the duke, "and begin to see how thinges wilbe proved now that I am present. And although it be but a Justice of the Peace his rule yet (if it may please y^r Ex^{cie}) it is a just and good one." [1]

With all his faults, and they were many, Buckingham was a staunch friend.

"His kindness and affection to his friends was so vehement," says Lord Clarendon in his character of this great nobleman, "that they were as so many marriages for better and worse, and so many leagues offensive and defensive; as if he thought himself obliged to love all his friends, and to make war on all they were angry with, let the cause be what it would." [2]

Wimbledon had every right to have his cause upheld by the Duke, as he had, against his better judgment, accepted the command and responsibility which of right belonged to the Duke himself. Knowing and feeling this, Buckingham stood by his deputy in this his hour of need, and silenced Wimbledon's accusers.

"Would you believe that the general of our late fleet," wrote a London correspondent to a friend, "hath gotten the better of all the colonels and sea captains, about the miscarriage of the fleet? It is true, and yesterday (April 6th), at the Council table it was so adjudged. Wonder not, the great duke bore him out and all stood mum; and the fault is laid upon old Captain Gore,[3] the only man who behaved himself well, and an old captain of the queen's."[1]

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[1] Wimbledon to Buckingham, March 15, 1626.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] Clarendon's *Hist. of the Rebellion*, i. p. 32 (edit. 1706, Oxford).

[3] Sir Michael Geere, or more probably *Gayer*.

Something more was wanted than an enquiry into the conduct of the commander-in-chief of an expedition which, except a miracle had taken place, could not possibly have been successful.[2] The victuallers of the fleet, and the dockyard officials, were more deserving of censure and punishment than the commander of the fleet, yet they escaped even the slight enquiry to which Lord Wimbledon was subjected, and the lessons taught by the miscarriage of the Cadiz expedition remained unlearnt. The Lord High-Admiral of England and his master had not yet learnt by simple experience that a soldier is not a fitting person to send to sea in supreme command of a fleet,[3] and that thousands of men pressed against their will and sent to sea do not constitute an army. Later generations were to learn these simple truths, but not before the naval power of Great Britain had well-nigh been extinguished. The failure of the Cadiz expedition must have been a bitter disappointment to Charles I. For two months after his return, Wimbledon was refused access to the King, which hurt his proud spirit more than the accusations brought against him by some of his officers. On April 28th, Wimbledon wrote to the Duke of Buckingham, complaining bitterly of his being denied access to his Majesty when last at Whitehall, and wishing to know the reason of it.[1] This letter, and one written soon after by Wimbledon to his noble patron complaining that the Lords of the Privy Council had granted leave to Lord Essex and the colonels to accuse him anew, and begging the Duke to uphold him and not let his enemies ruin him,[2] appear in that wonderful book of revelations of affairs of state in the 16th and 17th centuries—*Cabala*. These two letters convey a false impression of Wimbledon's real character. They are couched in a fawning, cringing style, very unworthy of a soldier or man of birth. They outwardly lower the writer to the position held by Sir James Bagg, who generally signed his letters to Buckingham, "your humble slave." But whereas Bagg was, to all intents and purposes, the Duke's "humble slave," Wimbledon was only the Duke's "creature," by a profession of subservience put on to gain his own ends. What would appear repulsive to us was, in old days, the mere hyperbole of expression. Wimbledon might call himself the Duke's "servant and creature" to please a man to whom flattery and the worship of others were meat and drink, but his abject humility ended there. The man who could pass high words with the fire-eating warrior Maurice of Nassau, on a mere question of precedence,[3] was not likely to let even the haughty Buckingham take liberties with him. Wimbledon had seen Lord Conway rise to power and greatness by flattering the Duke as none had flattered him before, and he attached himself to the royal favourite from the very first with similar views. It cannot be said this conduct was creditable to Conway, or the disciples of his school, but it was characteristic of soldiers of fortune. We find that bold and adventurous nobleman, Thomas Lord Cromwell, expressing himself just as subserviently to Buckingham as ever Wimbledon did.

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[1] From an extract of a letter quoted by the Rev. J. Mead in a letter to Sir M. Stuteville, April 15.—See *Court and Times*, i. pp. 95–6.

[2] Dr. Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, vi. p. 23.

[3] How very different was the conduct of Sir Edward Hawke as regarded the command of a *single* ship belonging to the Royal Navy. When it was proposed to give the command of one of his Majestie's ships to Captain Cook the navigator, Hawke, then at the head of the navy board, said that his conscience would not allow him to trust any ship of his Majesty's to a person who had not been regularly bred a sailor.—*Life of Captain Cook*, by Dr. Kippis, p. 12.

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[1] Wimbledon to Buckingham, *Cabala* (edit. 1655), p. 405.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 406.

[3] Carleton to —— ? Oct. 30, 1620.—*S. P. Holland.*

"I will not dispair of yo^r favour," wrote Lord Cromwell to the Duke on one occasion, "or that you will not give me som tast of yt, as well as to any other. I will study to be a deserving creature."[1]

Many instances could be given of the highest and noblest in England, bowing down in abject reverence before this great duke, whose more than kingly power can hardly be fully realised in these days.

"I considered him to be," wrote Sir Henry Wotton of the Duke in 1623, "that which few or none had been before in all ages; no less favourite I mean to the People than to the King."[2]

Certain it is that the Duke had a way of attaching people to him, and the protestations of affection he received were not all hollow and false. "I was always (as much as lay in me) desirous to outstrip rather than come short of any in doing you service," wrote the gallant and true-hearted Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford, to the Duke in 1623, from his prison in the Tower.[3] And if Wimbledon really was something more than grateful to the man who had trusted his honour to him, and who had stood by him when his enemies rushed open mouthed upon him, it is not to be wondered at, though it is to be lamented, his gratitude made him outwardly debase himself in his anxiety to flatter the *amour propre* of his patron.

On May 3rd, a new council of war, of which both Buckingham and Wimbledon were made members, was formed, and on May 4th Lord Wimbledon took his seat in the House of Lords as a Peer of England. The *Journals* of this House thus record this event:—

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[1] *Cabala* (edit. 1654), i. p. 263.

[2] *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, ii. p. 553.

[3] *Cabala* (edit. 1655), p. 335.

"*Hodie*, Edward Lord Viscount Wimbledon was brought into the Parliament in his Robes, between the Earl of Exeter and the Lord Viscount Mannsfield,[1] Garter going before, and placed next to the Lord Viscount Say and Seale.[2]

"*Memo.*—He delivered to the Lord Keeper the Patent[3] of his creation, which bears date at Reading, nono die Novembris, anno primo Caroli Regis."[4]

While the Commons were busy preparing their case against the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Bristol was attacking the favourite in the House of Lords. Through Buckingham's influence, with the late and the present king, Bristol had been, since his return from Spain in 1624, virtually a prisoner at his country house, and was prohibited from taking his seat in the House of Peers. When his first Parliament was summoned, Charles ordered that no writ should be sent to Lord Bristol. This nobleman, on the meeting of the second Parliament, petitioned the House of Lords to obtain for him what was his due as a peer of the realm. In consequence of this petition a writ was sent to the Earl, but this mere act of justice was completely marred by a letter from the Lord Keeper, Coventry, which accompanied the writ and which commanded Bristol in the King's name to absent himself from Parliament. This ill-judged and arbitrary action met with a just reward. Coventry's letter was laid before the Lords, and their advice was asked as to how the Earl was to proceed. It was a question on which grave issues depended. The rights of their House had been infringed ; and excepting Buckingham and his own supporters, the peers were all on the side of their injured fellow-peer. Intuitively knowing he would be obliged to withdraw his unjust prohibition, Charles hastened to accuse Bristol of high treason, thus hoping to save Buckingham from the Earl's accusation, which was sure to follow his rightful readmission into the House of Lords. But instead of averting, it only precipitated the Earl's accusation against Buckingham, and, when impeached by Heath, the Attorney-General, on May 1, before the bar of the House, Bristol, by way of recrimination, accused the Duke of high treason. The peers decided that an impartial hearing should be given to Bristol as soon as the Attorney-General had delivered his charges against the Earl. Heath's case against Bristol was decidedly weak. The chief points of it were that the Earl had concurred in the plan of inducing the Prince, when in Spain, to change his religion, and, that in his late letter to the House of Lords he had given the lie to his sovereign by declaring that the Duke's relation of what had passed in Spain was false, although Charles had, at the time, vouched for its truth. Bristol had now the opportunity of vindicating his character, for which he had so long sought. His answer to the charges, which was entered on the Journals of the

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[1] William Cavendish, only son of Sir Charles Cavendish of Welbeck Abbey, Notts, was created Viscount Mansfield in 1620 and subsequently Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Newcastle. He was one of the ablest cavalry generals of his time and suffered much in his royal master's service.

[2] William Fiennes, second Baron Saye and Sele (under the new patent), was created a Viscount July 7, 1624.

[3] The Patent contains these two clauses:—"Sciatis itaq qd Nos de grā nrā sp'iali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nris prfatu Edrū Cecyll Milit' ac statū gradū dignitatem et honor' Baron Cecyll de Putney in Com' n'ro Surr' ereximus p^{r}fecimus et creavimus, Ipsumq Edrū Cecyll Milit' Baron Cecyll de Putney predict' tenore prsentiū erigimus p^{r}ficimus et creamus.

"Sciatis insuper qd Nos de ampliori grā nostr' prefat' Edrū Cecyll Milit', Baron Cecyll de Putney predict in Vicecomit Wimbledon de Wimbledon in pred'co Com' n'ro Surr' ereximus prefecimus et creavimus, Ipsumq Edrū Vicecom Wimbledon predict tenore p^{r}sentiū—erigimus p^{r}ficimus et creamus." Sign Manual Grants and Warrants. Charles I. i. No. 88.—*S. P. Dom.*

[4] It is a curious fact that several of the authors of *Extinct Peerages* state that Sir E. Cecil was created Baron of Putney on Nov. 9th, 1625, and *Viscount Wimbledon*, *July* 25th, 1626. The above extract from the *Lords' Journals* under date May 4th, 1626, and the Patent itself, prove that both titles were conferred at the same time. Sir B. Burke, in his latest edition (1883) of his *Extinct Peerage*, adheres to the old error. Banks gives the correct date in his *Extinct Peerage.*

House, was full and satisfactory. While clearing himself, he denounced Buckingham as the cause of the failure of the Spanish marriage, and of the subsequent war with Spain. He also made grave charges against the moral, as well as the political, character of the Duke. Before Buckingham had time to prepare his answer to Bristol's charges, the House of Commons, having chosen a Committee of eight members to deliver certain articles against the Duke, impeached him before the Lords.

> "The duke's crimes are now transmitted by eight men," wrote Sir Simonds D'Ewes to Sir Martin Stuteville. "On Monday the 8th of this May, spoke Sir Dudley Digges in the afternoon, comparing the duke to a comet exhaled out of base and putrid matter. Then followed him, Mr Glanvill,[1] Mr Herbert, Mr Selden, these four spent up the day, the duke sitting there outfacing his accusers, outbraving his accusations, to the high indignation of the Commons, who, incensed thereby, are resolute for his commitment. The Wednesday following spoke Mr Wandsford, Mr Pym; and Sir John Eliot made the conclusion, recapitulating all."[2]

Eliot's speech alone was enough to drag the Duke from his high position and humble him before both Lords and Commons, had not Buckingham's royal master come to his aid. On the morning after Eliot's fiery oration, Charles sent both Eliot and Digges to the Tower. The Commons were highly incensed at the imprisonment of the two members, and refused to proceed to any business till they should be discharged. In a few days the King was persuaded to yield, and the two members were released. The Commons were further incensed against the King by his obtaining for the Duke, after they had impeached him, the vacant Chancellorship of Cambridge University, which they considered as an insult to their House. On June 8, the Duke delivered his answer in the House of Lords to the charges made against him by the Commons. On the day following, the King sent a letter to the Commons desiring them not to meddle further with his servant and minister Buckingham, but to proceed with the Subsidy Bill at once, and pass it in a few days, otherwise he would dissolve Parliament. But the Commons declined to grant any subsidies until they had finished their prosecution of Buckingham. Accordingly, Charles dissolved Parliament on June 15, and Bristol was at once committed to the Tower. Once more, therefore, did Buckingham triumph over his enemies.[1]

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[1] After recovering from his serious illness, which had kept him two months in Ireland, the secretary of the Cadiz expedition returned to London. He was again elected one of the members for Plymouth in the Parliament of 1626, and turned the tables on his old enemy the Duke by the active part he took in the proceedings against him.—*Court and Times*, i. p. 103.

[2] *Court and Times*, i. pp. 100-1.

Thrown on his own resources and pressed on all sides for money, Charles was reduced to selling a large quantity of his plate to meet a few of his own immediate claims. His failure to procure a subsidy from Parliament had been a great disappointment, and a greater was in store for him. This was the news of the complete defeat, on August 17, of Christian of Denmark, at Lutter, by the invincible Tilly A council, at which Charles presided, met to discuss ways and means. It was decided to send the four new English regiments in the service of the States, but in the pay of Great Britain, to the assistance of the King of Denmark. An application was now made to the City of London for a loan, but it was refused. In this dilemma, when money must be had by fair means or foul, somebody suggested to the King the plan of raising money by a forced loan. The King and Buckingham grasped at the idea, and to them it seemed a happy loophole out of all their difficulties, as well as a fair means of obtaining money. Every man was to be assessed the same as in the last subsidy, and commissioners invested with almost supreme power were appointed to levy the money. In some parts of England this forced loan was violently resisted, but enough money was collected altogether to tide over present necessities. In addition to this heavy call on his subjects, Charles required the maritime towns, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to arm a certain number of ships. This revival of a long disused tax created violent discontent. And no wonder, for the fleets sent forth by Charles to scour the seas and prey upon his enemies' shipping and seaports, met with singular ill-success, and lowered, much more than they raised, the naval power of England. Unmindful of the lessons taught by the Cadiz expedition, Charles and Buckingham determined to send forth a fresh fleet in the summer of 1626, which was to accomplish all that Wimbledon had failed to do in the previous autumn. As if to court certain failure, the new fleet was despatched from Portsmouth in October, and the command given to Lord Willoughby,[1] an experienced soldier. Ill-provisioned, ill-manned, and badly fitted out, the fleet never reached a Spanish port, but was driven back from whence it came without accomplishing anything. Many of the soldiers and sailors who had served in the Cadiz expedition had been kept at Plymouth, and Portsmouth, by the King's orders to go with Lord Willoughby's fleet. These wretched men, who had been kept under martial law,[1] had not been paid for their past services. It would appear from the two following entries in the diary of a worthy Devonian, who was a sorrowful eye-witness of the misery caused by this injustice, that, even after the return of Lord Willoughby's fleet, the soldiers and mariners were not paid :—

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[1] The King ordered Buckingham's and Bristol's cases to be tried in the Court of Star Chamber. This court of course acquitted Buckingham ; and Bristol's case, after a long delay, was indefinitely postponed for obvious reasons.

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[1] Sir Robert Bertie, 10th Lord Willoughby de Eresby, created Earl of Lindsey in Nov. 1626.

> "About the end of November, 1626, there came a company of 250 mariners to London to demand pay for their service, being kept under press for the King's ships, and assaulted the Lord Treasurer's house, but, after he acquainted the council thereof, they had their pay and were sent back again."[2]

And three months later the same writer records that :—

> "The mariners which were pressed for Cadiz, and others retained in the King's ships, for that they never received their pay, came in troops to London at divers several times, and threatened the Duke of Buckingham, and once they made an attempt against his gate to pull it down, but at last were pacified, and had their pay out of the loan of the subsidy money and discharged."[3]

Meanwhile Lord Wimbledon had regained the favour of the King and favourite. His brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Tufton, was at this time desirous of becoming a peer of England, and was willing to pay a good sum for this honour. Knowing the King's pressing need for money, Wimbledon suggested to the Duke that he should procure from the King a royal warrant creating Tufton a baron, and he (Wimbledon) would see that the money was paid in to the King's hands. What this sum was does not appear, but Wimbledon's letter to the Duke's secretary, Nicholas,[1] leaves no doubt that Wimbledon managed this little business for his brother-in-law, and was the means of having him created a baron.[2]

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[1] On Dec. 18, 1625, the King issued a commission to Edward Viscount Wimbledon, Lord Marshal of the army, Sir W. St. Leger, Sir John Burgh, and twenty-two other officers, to punish any of the soldiers at Plymouth, and in Devon and Cornwall, guilty of robbery or other misdemeanours.—Rymer's *Fœdera*.

[2] *The Diary of Walter Yonge.*

[3] *Ibid.*

VISCOUNT WIMBLEDON TO M^r^ NICHOLAS.

"M^r^ NICHOLAS,

"I have now spoken to my lo. Ducke's Grase, and have given him all satisfaction of any doubt, and his lo. is now content that the busines shall goe forward, and commanded me to signefie to y^o^ that y^o^ should draw forthwith a warrant, and my lo. hath promised mee to signe it. And if my lo. will have hast made of it, so soon as the King shall have signed his Royall warrant, I shall be redy to present the munny to his Ma^ty^, or to whome his M^y^ shall apoint. And I praye y^o^ lett my lo. Ducke know so much from mee, and so I reast in hast,

"y^r^ most assured loving
"friend,
"WIMBLEDON.

"This present Wednesday,
at 3 of the Clocke.

[P.S.] "I pray y^o^ remember to lett my lo. know that I had forgotten to move him that my Brother Toffen [Tufton] have noe ronge if there be any other Barons made, for that he is an antient Baronett."[3]

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[1] Afterwards Sir Edward Nicholas, who succeeded Windebanke as Secretary of State in 1641.

[2] Buckingham issued a warrant in October to Attorney-General Heath, signifying that it was the King's pleasure that a grant should be drawn up to Sir Nicholas Tufton of the dignity of Lord Tufton of Hothfield, C^o^ Kent, Oct? 1626.—*S. P. Dom.* Lord Tufton's creation bears date November 1, 1626. On August 5, 1628, he was created Earl of Thanet, and died in 1632. These titles became extinct, in 1849, on the death of Henry Tufton, 11th Earl of Thanet.

[3] *S. P. Dom.*—Sealed with the crest—a wheatsheaf with two supporters surmounted by a viscount's coronet.

Add.
"To his very worthy friend
M^r Nicolas, Secretary,
to the Ducke."

End.
"The 19 Octob., 1626.
Lord Wimbledon to me."

On December 18, Lord Wimbledon was appointed, in conjunction with Charles, Earl of Nottingham,[1] Lord-Lieutenant of Surrey.[2] Soon after receiving this appointment, the King sent a warrant to the Lords-Lieutenants of counties, desiring them to procure a certain number of men by a fixed date, to be sent over to Holland as reinforcements for the four English regiments, which it had been decided to send to the aid of Christian of Denmark. The King's warrant to Lords Nottingham and Wimbledon, setting forth his reasons for sending British troops to his uncle's assistance, is as follows:—

"Right trustie and welbeloved Cousin wee greete yow well, O[ur] Deare uncle [the King of Denmark] at the instance of o^r Deare ffather of ever blessed memory [and other] confederated Princes and States, But principally att o^r said Deare ffathers, and our instigaton, ingaged himselfe in a warre against the howse of Austria, uppon promise of assistance by men and money from the interessed Princes and States. And, haveing by his armes made a stronge Diversion of the enemies forces and kept them from fallinge downe uppon these partes, Wee finde it both hono^ble and most important to the publicke cause, to support o^r said unkle wth such assistance as may incourage him to proceed in those royall waies of [force] that hee hath begun to give a stoppe to the ambitious designes of the enemie, and restore peace to Chrystendome. And because o^{r} said Deare unkle doth att this time stand in great need of a supply of menn to make upp those defects and losses, wch accidents of warre have this last Sommer cast upon his Armie, with soe (much) disadvantage, as, unlesse some p'sent reall supply bee sent, hee [will be] inforced to make his owne condicones, provide for his [own safety] and deferre the comon cause. Wee have thought good to send p'sently to o^{r} said Deare Unkle the fower Regiments now in o^{r} pay in the Low Countreyes, and to the end those forces may come compleat, and bee more usefull in that great worke of reinforcinge o^{r} said Deare Unkles Army, wee are pleased to make upp the defects of those fower Regiments by new leveyes from hence. And doe hereby Authorize and require yow to cause one hundred of able and serviceable menn for the warres, to bee levyed in that country, under yo^{r} Lieutenacy, and to observe in the choice of the men and the orderinge and disposeing of them, such directons as yow shall herewth receave by 'tres from o^{r} Privy Counsell, wch service wee expect yow cause to be pformed wth such care and diligence as the importance the occasion requires, and as yow tender that great and good cause to [the further]ance of wch these forces are designed. And those o^{r} lres shall bee yo^{r} sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe.

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[1] Charles Howard, 2^nd Earl of Nottingham, was younger son, by his first marriage, of the famous old Admiral Howard, 1^st Earl of Nottingham, many years Lord High Admiral of England.

[2] His commission as Lord-Lieutenant is to be found among the Conway Papers.—*S. P. Dom.* (Appendix), 1626.

"Given under o^{r} signet att o^{r} Pallace att westm^{r}, the 9th day of ffeb^{y}, in the second yeare of o^{r} Raigne." [1]

"To o^{r} Right trustie and welbeloved
Cousin the Earle of Nottinghame, and
to o^{r} right Trustie and welbeloved
Cousin, Edward Viscount Wimbledon,
Lord-Lieutenants of o^{r} Countie of
Surrey."

End. "The King's lre for the levyinge of 100 men,
1627."

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[1] *Add. MSS.* 29,599 f. 31 (damaged by damp). A minute of this letter is to be found in the *Privy Council Register* for 1626–7, and it is noted that the 100 men are to be sent to the port of London by the 28th March, new style.

Those of the King's subjects who refused to subscribe to the general loan were summarily dealt with. The gentry who resisted were summoned to appear before the Privy Council in London, or else imprisoned. The poorer sort were pressed for the fleet, or sent to Holland to fill up the ranks of the regiments ordered to North Germany. In addition to these grievances, soldiers were billeted on all persons of substance who had refused or delayed the loan. The soldiers, who were ill-paid and ill-disciplined, were guilty of many crimes and outrages. The whole country was in a state of uproar.

> "And besides," wrote Wimbledon to Secretary Coke, "there are many vagabonds that, in the name of soldiers, do outrages and thefts."[1] The laws seemed to have no terrors for these offenders, and yet "there was never time more needful to have such laws put in execution," wrote Wimbledon, "in regard of the great liberty that people take, more than they were wont."[2]

Wimbledon recommended that a provost-marshal should be appointed in every county. This advice was adopted, and martial law was proclaimed—a remedy which seemed to the civilian population worse than the disease.

It was not till the beginning of April, 1627, that Lord Wimbledon was discharged from his command of Lord-Marshal of the army that went to Cadiz in 1625.[3] Seven of the ten regiments had been reduced. The remaining three, viz., the Duke's, Lord Wimbledon's, and Sir Edward Conway's, were sent to Kent, Sussex, and Ireland.[4] Many of the reduced officers were promised commissions in some regiments which were soon to be raised to serve in a new campaign.

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[1] Wimbledon to Coke, Feb. 23.—*Melbourne MSS.* quoted by Dr. Gardiner in his *Hist. of England*, vi. p. 156.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Walter Yonge's Diary*, p. 105.

[4] *Court and Times*, i. p. 168.

Directly Wimbledon was released from his military command under King Charles, he made arrangements for returning to his regiment in Holland, and obtained a pass from the Privy Council to leave England.[1] But his departure was delayed until the middle of June by a press of business connected with the payment of the officers and men who had served under him in the late expedition, and who, including himself, had received little or no pay for their past services. The following letter of Wimbledon's enclosing a list of the officers out of Ireland who had served under him at Cadiz, and to whom a large sum of money was due, is worthy of attention:—

VISCOUNT WIMBLEDON TO M^r^ NICHOLAS.

M^r^ NICHOLAS,

"I have received the letter and former list which I delivered to you, and have sent you another now more perfect. And I do not knowe that theare was anie in the former list left out that should have ben in, but onlie Captain Alford, which was the fault of my servant that did write it, and not mine; for others, they were absent in Ireland, soe that I could not put in those present that were not. For the Drommes [drummers] in regard they were but meane officers, and that they could not attend so long their payments as others did, I doubt whether the Captains would put in theire servants or other slight men to gaine them paie, and fearing to increase the some of the list to overthrow the whole. Therefore I could wish that no man be paid when they are to receive their paie, but such as shall receive it with their own hands, and to be demanded some question to prove they bee the same men they then present [represent] themselves. But what should I trouble myself to husband his Ma^{ties} money as I have donne, when there is no thanckes nor notice of it, for I see more men prosper with spending and getting the King's money then [than] by saving it, for I see all will awaie, and he is the wisest that getteth his part, and what will become of all in the end, time will learne us, and soe I rest,

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[1] "22 March, 1626 (old style). A Passe for the Lo. Visc. Wimbleton, his Ladie and Famellie, to go ov^{r} in to the Lowe Countries."—*Council Register.*

"your most loving friend,
"WIMBLEDON.

"Wimbledon, 1 May,
1627.[1]

[P.S.] "I am glad to see that Captain Gifford is on the list, for he is worth four or five of some captains that are in the list."

Add.
"To my verie loving friend
Mr Nicholas, Secretarie to
my Lord Duke."

End.
"The 2 May, 1627, Lord Wimbledon concerning the Irish officers to whom there is due, for 5 months, £2275."

In the list sent by Wimbledon to Nicholas is to be found, among the lieutenants who had served in the Cadiz expedition, the name of "ffelton," and it is noted that there is a sum of £84 due to him for four months' service.[2] This was the unfortunate and notorious Lieutenant John Felton, who was, within the space of a few months, to make his name known through the length and breadth of the kingdom as the perpetrator of a dreadful crime. But, before narrating the story of Felton's life, it is necessary to chronicle some of the important events that took place in the spring and summer of 1627.

In April, the four new English regiments in the service of the States, sailed for the Elbe, under Sir Charles Morgan, who had the rank of general conferred upon him. Owing to long arrears of pay, and the unpopularity of the service, the regiments were much below their strength—both as regarded officers and men—and the new recruits deserted by companies at a time. For some time it was uncertain who was to be commander of this forlorn hope, and it was generally supposed that Lord Willoughby, who was colonel of one of these English regiments, would have the command. But this gallant soldier had returned in bad health and spirits from his late unfortunate sea voyage, and he declined the command.

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[1] *S. P. Dom.*—Letter signed by Wimbledon and sealed with his arms.

[2] See list of officers and amount of pay still due to them attached to Lord Wimbledon's letter of May 1.

Upon Lord Willoughby's refusal, there was a report that Lord Wimbledon was to have the command.

> "My Lord Wimbledon, upon my Lord Willoughby's refusal," wrote a correspondent of M^r Mead's, "is to go general of our four regiments in the Low Countries to aid the King of Denmark." [1]

Wimbledon was just the man to apply for this command, and he was doubtless anxious to retrieve his reputation; but, being much out of pocket by his late expedition, he could not, even if he had been offered the command, have accepted it, until he had received the arrears of pay due to him. So he stayed on in England and fought the Government on behalf of his officers' and his own pay. Many of the officers had now become very clamorous and importunate for their pay.

> "There are here in town about 103 captains, lieutenants, and other officers that came out of Ireland (being part of the army that returned from Cadiz)," wrote Secretary Nicholas, "who are here in great want and do much importune for their pay. The Lord Wimbledon hath sent a list of all these officers, where he

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[1] —— ? to Mead, Nov. 17, *Court and Times*, i. p. 171.

hath set down what pay every one hath received, and how much more every one is to have for five months' entertainment."[1]

So ran a memorandum of Buckingham's secretary, which his master was to lay before the Privy Council on May 2.

On May 16, the Privy Council issued a warrant for the payment of £10,000 to Captain Mason, treasurer of the army, to be disbursed by him in payment of arrears due to officers who had served in the Cadiz expedition.[2] This sum was speedily swallowed up, and the commander of the late Cadiz expedition remained still unpaid. In consequence of this omission, Wimbledon laid his claim before the Privy Council, and, on June 12, a warrant to the following effect was issued from Whitehall:—

"Whereas the Lo. Vic. Wimbleton did thus remonstrate to the Boord by his humble Petition, that his Ma^{tie} hath comanded the Lo. Trer. & Mr. Chanc. of the Excheq^{r} to make paym^{t} of 10^{m} ^{li} for the use of the Army lately imployed in the Expediticon to Cales, and likewise such other somes of money as shall from tyme to tyme be ordered by us to be paid in that behalfe; And whereas he also alleadged that the Lord Duke of Buckingham, signified to the said Mr. Chancell^{r}, in the Peticoners presence, that it is his Ma^{ties} pleasure that the Peticoner should receive the intertainement due to him, from his Ma^{tie}, for his service for 22 monethes, as Lieutenant-g̅r̅all, Marshall comanding in Cheef, five pounds per diem; as Collonell at one pound five shillings per diem, for w^{ch} there remaineth due to his Lo^{p} (all deduccons made), as will appeare, 3344^{li}; for as much as other officers imployed in that service have bin satisfied, and the Lo. Vic. Wimbleton, who hath comanded in Cheife omitted in the list, wee doe therefore thinck fit, and hereby pray and require the said Lo. Trer. and Mr. Chancell^{r} of the Excheq^{r} to give present direccon for the paym^{t} of the said some of 3344^{li} to the said Lo. Vic. Wimbleton or his Assignes, for his entertainment above specified." [1]

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[1] Memorandum endorsed, "Nicholas's minutes of business to be brought before the Council by Buckingham, May 2."—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] *S. P. Dom.*

Money was particularly scarce this month of June, for Charles had, to the surprise of all men, except Buckingham, who was declared to be the cause of it, declared war against France, notwithstanding the crippled state of his finances and his engagements to support Christian of Denmark in Germany. A large fleet and army was being hastily prepared to proceed to the relief of Rochelle, then in the hands of the French Huguenots who were in open revolt against their king. Buckingham forgot his animosity to Spain in the excitement of a war with France, and, in helping the Huguenots, he thought to humble the pride of the great Richelieu, who had thwarted his designs and played him false on many notable occasions. In consequence of the expenses incurred in fitting out this expedition, of which Buckingham was to be general by sea and land, though he knew nothing of either naval or military warfare, Wimbledon was unable to get his arrears of pay from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, like many others, was obliged to wait for a more convenient season. The States' army being ready to take the field, Wimbledon was obliged to return to Holland without further delay, leaving the expedition, in which he was to have no part, almost ready to sail. But, though he was to have no part in it, his interest in the expedition was great, and, as a Councillor of War to the King, he had, when the design was first mooted to the Council of War, delivered his opinion to his sovereign in writing, in which he pointed out "the commodities and discommodities of undertaking and relieving Rochelle." [2]

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[1] *Council Register* for 1627.

[2] This tract of Lord Wimbledon's is given in the Appendix to this vol.

The Prince of Orange took the field towards the end of June, with 170 companies of foot and all the horse. The garrison towns were left in the charge of wartgelders during the absence of the troops.[1]

In former years the States' army had to act on the defensive, but this year Henry of Nassau, taking advantage of the supineness of his enemy, opened the ball by marching to Groll and laying siege to that town. The garrison made a spirited defence at first, but, being disheartened by the failure of a Spanish army under Matthias van Dulken to relieve them, they capitulated on August 20.[2] In this siege was killed "Younker William of Nassau," as he was called, the illegitimate son of Maurice of Nassau, and late admiral of the Dutch squadron in the expedition to Cadiz. The English also lost several gallant officers, whose loss Lord Wimbledon, who served with his regiment at this siege, deplores in the following letter written from before Groll :—

VISCOUNT WIMBLEDON TO LORD CARLETON.[3]

"MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

"I doubt not but you are as full wheare you are of the victorie at Groll as wee weare with desier to gain it. Wee have shortened that time I sett down in my letter to your Lo^p with earlie parlie, sweet words and good conditions, but how the governour will answer it when our gallerie did neither touch his falce braie,[4] nor the rampier, but if I weare of his jurie, I should much condemn him. I hope by the good fortune of theise countries at this time, and the brave enterprice of the Duke in France, we may well hope that God hath turned his face again upon us.

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[1] Lord Carleton to Lord Conway, June 27, 1627.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] New style.

[3] Sir Dudley Carleton was raised to the Peerage, May 21, 1626, as Baron Carleton of Imbercourt, co. Surrey, and on July 25, 1628, was created Viscount Dorchester. He died in 1631 when these titles became extinct.

[4] Fausse-braye.

"The Prince hath gained a great deal of honour in this his first action of note, having shewn a great deal of understanding and readiness, and diligence and resolution, having made the seidge as perfect as ever I saw any, and in as short a time in regard of the strength of the towne before him, and a strong enemie behind him. Wee having imittated the enemie, and, if it may be, surpassed him in the fortifying of our circumvolation [circumvallation], and they have imittated us in giving an assault of bravadoes to as little purpose as wee did at Terhiden. Soe that you see the humbleness of our profession that doe not scorn to learn one of another.

"I cannot see that victories doe alwaies happen without some errour, wee having lost a great many worthie friends as you have heard in this siedge, and most of his Maties subjects, being increased with a further losse then, I thinck, your Lop hath heard of, which is by the death of Sir John Prowd, departed this morning at three of the clocke within the towne of Groll, as worthy and brave a gentleman as any of our nation left behind him, so that the Regiment[1] is left without Colonel, Lieut.-Col. or Sergt.-Major. Finding the Prince full of honour and victorie, and having understood by some that the States had taken a resolution to furnish all the vacant companies with Captains, I went to his Excie, in your Lo: name, to desire him that he would not execute the States' resolution, but deferr it till the return of my Lord Duke, or at least till he spoke to your Lop, and that his Matie would take it for a courtesie done for his sake. But his answer to mee was peremptorie, that it was the States' pleasure that it should be presentlie put in execution, and that the King of France had taken exception at the States that they should suffer men in their service and paie to make warre upon him, whereuppon he commanded mee to find out officers to supplie the place of Sir William Courtenay,[2] and Sir Harrie Sprie[3] or that otherwise hee would doe it himselfe, and this is all I can satisfie your L^{op} at this time; and, that I am in bedd recovering the sleep I lost, I am forced to use another man's hand, yet nevertheless I rest your L^{ops},

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[1] Sir Charles Morgan's old regiment of which Sir John Proude was Lieut.-Colonel.

[2] Capt. W. Courtenay, of Lord Wimbledon's regiment, had been given the command of a regiment in the Isle of Rhé expedition, and had been knighted by Charles I. before leaving England.

[3] Capt. Sprye, another of Wimbledon's officers, had a regiment given him in the Isle of Rhé expedition and received the honour of knighthood. He was

"Most humble servant,
"WIMBLEDON.

"From before Groll,
August the 12th 1627." [1]

Add. "To the Righ honor^{ble} the Lord Carleton, Baron of Embercourt, Embassador Extraordinarie, and one of his M^{atisc} most honorb^{le} Privie Councell at the Hague."

End. "From my Lord Wimbledon the 12th of August 1627."

On June 27 a fleet of 100 sail, with about 6,000 land soldiers on board, left Stokes Bay for Rochelle. Upon arrival there the inhabitants shut their gates and refused to admit allies of whose coming they had not been informed. Buckingham now steered for the adjacent isle of Rhé, which was well fortified and had a strong garrison. Here he effected a landing, but with some loss. The strong fort of St. Martin's might have been taken if an immediate attack upon it had been made, but the Duke wasted five days in fortifying himself, and in preparations for attacking the fort. This delay gave time to the garrison of St. Martin's to lay in provisions and prepare for a siege. To reduce the fort seemed to Buckingham, utterly inexperienced as he was, an easy matter with such a large army at his back. His despatches home were full of hope, and many of the Duke's friends were led to expect brilliant

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one of the few commanders in this disastrous expedition who lived to return to England, but he told his wife on his return that his heart was broken at the loss of so many brave friends, and he died within a few days. Mead to Stuteville, Dec. 15, 1627.—*Court and Times*, i. p. 305.

[1] *S. P. Holland.*

successes. An account of Buckingham's successful landing in the Island of Rhé was sent to Lord Carleton at the Hague by Sir John Coke, who desired the English Ambassador to acquaint Lords Vere and Wimbledon with the particulars of the Duke's actions in France.[1]

It was not long before reports of a much less hopeful nature reached England. Buckingham had been obliged to turn the siege into a blockade and had sent for reinforcements. His troops and provisions were wasting daily, and the French, who had recovered from their surprise at the unexpected arrival of an English fleet, were making strenuous exertions to swoop down on the English fleet with a still larger naval force. It was during this gloomy period that Sir John Burroughs, the duke's gallant second in command, was killed by a shot from St. Martin's.[2] This fresh misfortune cast additional gloom over the English army. At a time when Buckingham was sorely in need of advice, and had few friends to speak the truth to him, Wimbledon wrote him an honest, manly letter, and gave him the best advice that he was able to give. Wimbledon evidently spoke from his heart when he assured the Duke that he would sooner have come himself as a volunteer than sent him a letter by another's hand, but he had not the means to indulge this wish.

"My gratious Lord," wrote Wimbledon to the Duke, "As you have begonne your victories like Cæsar, soe I wishe you may end them with triumphes as hee did. And although I have nott the happinesse to bee pertaker of soe glorious an action, yet I hope to bee an actor in the triumphe. It is held of all men that true freindes and servantes are bounde as well in absence, as presence, to shewe theire affections, and to give what assistance they are able to those they faithfullie honnour, in one kinde or other, according to theire profession, and the occasion offered. Your Grace (as I heare) is now beseiginge a place, soe that the profession w^{c}h I have made of my service to your Grace, cannot bee excused at this time, when I may add somethinge to your graces proceedings, especiallie for that the seidge continues soe longe. I have seane in the lowe Countries diverse letters w^{c}h came from France, w^{c}h signifie that it is advertised out of the Sconce that all theire advantage is, that your Grace wanteth good Engeniers, or those that should direct them. If I can saie nothinge to that purpose that have been soe longe in the proffession, and so fresh retorned from soe great a seidge, I might be ashamed. As it seemeth not a little strange to mee, to heare that a Forte but of foure pointes (though of stone), if theare are not maine outwarkes, and not highlie mounted, should hould out soe longe as it doth. For if it be by the quantitie of menn in it, there is noe waie better then by blockinge of it, and shootinge into it Granadoes, that carrie fiftie and threescore pounders of powlder, w^{c}h I feare your Grace hath not, nor a mann that cann tell how they should bee shott. If the Garrisonn bee not soe stronge, then it is best by approches. But whether it bee stronge, or weake, it ought to have ben approched too; neverthelesse, to make the blockinge of it more easie, for there is no waie better to block upp a place then by approaching it soe nigh as may bee (especiallie, when an enemie is not expected that cann releive it by force), for the nigher you approche unto it, the narrower is the circumvolation, and then you blocke it upp more surer, with fewer menn, and lesse worke; then also, you take from the beseiged, the commoditie of water, and other thinges that lie without the Skonce, and then may you dismount their ordennance much better, beinge that in shootinge farr off you cannot shoote, either with that force or certaintie as shootinge nigh, wheare you shall not misse one shott. To batter the point of a Fort of foure pointes it is easie, beinge the imperfection of that figure, that the point of the bulwarkes cannot possiblie bee made stronge, but sharpe, and therefore may the easilier bee broken, though of stone; for batter the corner stones the rest will followe of themselves (as your Grace knoweth), the corner stone beinge held the Master and head stone. Theare is also another imperfection in that figure, that is, that it cann but flancke from the Cassamate soe that it can shoote but uppon one or two lines, wheare the beseiger hath choice to shoot uppon diverse lines to dismount the peices of the beseiged, that is by right lines, and by brickwallinge to shoote into the Cassamate to choake it. There is no place to bee beseiged, unlesse the beseiger have three peices to one; nor approachinge nigh to any place of strength without dismounting the enemies peices; nor cominge nigh the ditch of a Forte without lodginge soe manie musquetiers, as may predominate the Enemies musquetiers. If your Grace have not store of materialls to make your trenches, redoutes, and batteries, as store of willowes, salloes, and the bodies of younge trees of that kinde whereof they make bauin (*sic*), and store of all ironn tooles, it is noe wonder your Grace is soe longe about the worke; for a seidge requires all manner of thinges, and none to bee wantinge. I knowe not how your Grace is furnished with those that knowe how to make batteries. I have seene some in our seidge of Groll, that have made in one night, a batterie for six demie cannon, w^ch played next morninge by breake of daie, and that battery was sixteene foote high from the platforme, and cannon proofe to guarde the peices and cannoniers. If your Grace finde that you have want of menn, and that the enemie be strong; you are to make the more redoubtes, for they will defend your menn, and fewer men defend them; and thereby you shall soe inclose the enemie, that he shall neither bee able to doe you anie harme by sallies, nor soe easilie receive suckers. My Lord, I know not what judgment to make that have not been better advertised, but that the Forte should be relevied by sea, when as your Grace is absolute Master of it, surelie my poore opinion is that it must needes have been acted in the night, and foule wether, when shippes could not ride theare, and soe the enemie not discovered, otherwise, I knowe not what to conceive.[1] For if the Forte cann be relived by sea, and your Grace bee Master of it, and not able to hinder the releife, nor to mine into the ramper, it is but lost labor to continue the seidge. For theare are but two thinges for a soldier to resolve on when hee cometh to beseige a place, whereof hee must have soe much of the practique, to iudge, that is, whether hee bee able to beseidge and gett it, or unable to undertake it. Your Grace hath ben longe before it, and now you are to looke for fowler wether then you have had, and that the enemie hath had a longe time to call uppon his friendes and allies, and to make great preparations, and may come freshlie uppon you with all the advantages of winde, tide, and choice of the time, w^c^h are great, therefore I doubt not, but your Grace hath taken the resolution by this time (if you have not alreadie finished your conquest) that either you will putt the enemie from all means of releife, with what haste you cann, or else resolve to leave it, and looke to releive Rochell, which place (if you cann keepe openn to sea, will give you the advantage of all the rest, and the Kinge of France soe much to doe (if he will beseidge it) as will bringe him on his knees, and force him to begg a peace of his Ma^tie^. But, as I said, if your Grace be resolved to continue the seidge, you must goe rounde about it, and advance two stronge workes soe nigh the sea as you cann, the one on the east side, wheare the town is scituate (as I can gather by the mapp) and the other on the west side wheare Collonell Sprie hath his quarters, and to make that guarde as stronge at least, as the garrisonn may fall uppon it. And uppon anie fowle wether in the night, when the shippes cannot ride to impeach relieife, to make diverse sallies, as well to discover then what they doe, as to hinder them from receivinge anie suckers. And at such time (w^c^h cannot be alwaies) to drawe downe a by watch, that may serve for secondes, and cannot but doe some great service at such time and uppon such occasion. If your Grace shalbee constrained to leave this seidge (w^c^h God forbidd) and yett the bravest soldiers have donne it, and your Grace followinge the warrs, if not now, yett you must expect that at some time or other, you may doe it, this onlie must bee regarded, that all true ingenious meanes bee used, to satisfie the world, how that it was not, for want of courage (of w^c^h your enemies cannot accuse you, that have shewed soe much) but by impossibilities. It will not bee amisse to provide for the worste, the best will helpe it selfe, that is, for the retreat, if you bee forced to leave the plaes, especiallie for the embarquing the Armie, for w^{c}h you must make some good workes; and soe order the shippes that you may be favoured therein by your ordenance.[1] For, as your Grace well knoweth, you cannott shipp all the Armie at once, neither could you soe land them, and therefore must thincke to leave parte behinde you, and they may bee charged by the enemie in greater numbers than they shalbee of, at that present, therefore the reare must bee strengthened by some worke that may defend them. And you must expect (if it should soe happen that you should leave the seidge) that the enemie will venture anie thinge to give you a blowe at your embarquinge, and the rather, for that you gave them soe great a one, at your landinge, w^{c}h in my opinion was one of the daringgest actions that I have knowne or heard of in our time.

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[1] Coke to Carleton, undated, received by the latter August 8.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] "Sir John Burgh was one night in the trenches shot through the belly of which he died within four hours." Sir Edward Conway to Lord Conway, from St. Martin's, Sept. $\frac{20}{30}$—*S. P. Dom.*

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[1] On the night of Sept. 27, when St. Martin's was on the eve of surrendering to Buckingham, a number of French boats laden with provisions broke through the English fleet and succeeded in landing their precious cargoes under the walls of the fort. The garrison plucked up fresh courage and the besiegers seemed as far off winning the fort as ever.

"This is all I cann say herein, not beinge better advertised than I have ben sence my cominge over. But surelie, otherwise, I should have said more, and fitter to the purpose. For I must confess I have seene much in this kinde, have studied this arte long and practised it (I dare saie) as much, as anye mann of our Nation. Therefore I hope your Grace will pardonn my boldnesse, for if I affoored your Grace noe profitt, yett it affoardes mee thus much, that it testifies mee your unfeigned servant and one that desires all happinesse and honour to your personne, otherwise I should not have written soe freelie nor largelie. Your Grace hath heeretofore tried me in an unfortunate action and might have trid mee in a better, that have found it true, that fortune is too harde for industrie. But I hope by this, I hope your Grace cann better judge of menn, than you have donne, and not to take them by reporte, For I knowe, and soe doth all the world, that your Grace hath exquisite naturall partes, soe that in this time of action when you have ben soe putt to it, to finde the Commodities of Warr, and discommodities, I knowe you must have profited much in the profession.

"Had Mr. Chancelor performed your Grace's recommendations, to mee, as hee did to others, for the poore sommes of money I have spent in his Ma^{ties} service, and w^{c}h I have lost in the lowe Countries by reasonn of the same (w^{c}h at this time maketh mee altogeather unable to doe your Grace that service I would, I had ben the bearer of this respect in personn as a Voluntaire, w^{c}h I am forced to send heere by a worthie friend in paper. Humblie to desire your Grace's stronger recommendations to Mr. Chancelor, for w^{c}h I shalbee much bound to your Grace, praying to God to send you alwaies victorie over his Ma^{ties} enemies, and your owne." [1]

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[1] Had this advice been taken some hundreds of valuable lives might have been saved when the inevitable retreat began.

The body of the gallant colonel, Sir John Burroughs, was sent home by Buckingham, to be buried, with military honours, in Westminster Abbey. The funeral took place on Oct. 23. The colonel's brother with two other relatives were chief mourners. Next to them came the Earls of Dorset, Warwick, Carlisle, Berkshire, Mulgrave and the deceased's two old companions-in-arms, the Viscounts Conway and Wimbledon, with many other distinguished mourners." [2]

In less than three weeks after the funeral of this great soldier, Buckingham, with a small remnant of the army that had left England with him in June, arrived at Plymouth. St. Martin's had not been taken, Rochelle had not been relieved, nor had the Huguenot cause been in any way advanced by the close proximity of an English fleet and army. The fire from St. Martin's, and the avenging swords of the French troops who at last had poured over into the Isle of Rhé from the mainland, and taken possession of an unoccupied fort there had, befriended by the lack of provisions and the severity of the weather, destroyed a large part of the English force. The succours and provisions sent from England, by England's monarch, had been forcibly detained in port by a succession of storms, and never reached the shores of France. Buckingham did everything that a brave man could do, and more than many brave men would have done, but his enemy was too strong for him and he was compelled to retreat. In this retreat he lost hundreds of soldiers and many of his bravest officers. So ended the first attempt to relieve Rochelle, and it ended in a disaster "worse than that of Cecil in 1625," and in "a failure worse than that of Willoughby in 1626."[1]

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[1] Letter among the Conway papers, signed by Wimbledon, unaddressed and undated, but calendared "Oct. 12, 1627."—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] *Court and Times*, i. p. 281. The real name of this gallant officer appears to have been Burgh, or, Borough, but contemporary writers generally call him *Burroughs*. He was buried near his old general Sir Francis Vere.—See Chester's *Westminster Abbey Registers*, p. 126.

Loud was the outcry against Buckingham and sore need had he of all the friends he could muster round him. Regardless as he was of his own personal danger, he knew full well that to carry out his political and ambitious designs he must have a party of his own to sustain and uphold him, or else he would be swept by the strong popular current from his precarious foothold. The leading members of the Privy Council and the Bar were the Duke's friends and adherents. As Government posts and offices fell vacant, Buckingham filled the vacancies with his own friends. Remembering Wimbledon's letter of friendly advice when he was in sore need of counsel, and trusting in his friendship, whatever might happen, Buckingham filled up one of the earliest vacancies in the Privy Council, after his return home, by appointing Wimbledon, with the king's consent, to the high and important post of Privy Councillor. This was on Feb. 4. The event is recorded in the Council register for 1628.

"This day the Lo. V. Wimbleton, was by his Ma^{ties} speciall command sworne one of his higness Privie Councell, sate at the Boord, and signed L^{res}."[2]

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[1] Dr. Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, vi. p. 202.

[2] *Council Register.* Whitehall, Feb. 4, 1627-8. See also reference to Wimbleton's appointment in a letter from Mr. Beaulieu to Sir T. Puckering, Feb. 6.—*Court and Times*, i. p. 319.

On Feb. 20, the King issued a commission to certain members of the Privy Council desiring them "to enter into a serious consideration of the best ways for raising moneys, to give assistance to the King's oppressed allies, to provide for the defence of the State, and to report thereon."[1] Lord Wimbledon was but a new Privy Councillor, yet his name was included in this royal commission. It was not long before Wimbledon showed himself to be the "ingenious peer" that Sir Kenelm Digby subsequently styled him,[2] for he introduced a new scheme for raising money which the King adopted. But he first brought to the King's notice a plan "for the defence of the coasts of the kingdom against any foreign enemy, in case the royal navy should be otherwise employed."[3] Wimbledon's advice, given at a time when there was some apprehension of a French, or Spanish, invasion, was good, for the navy was now sent yearly on dangerous expeditions, leaving the British coasts undefended.

The money extorted from his subjects came into the King's treasury so slowly that he was obliged against his will to call a third parliament. Parliament was summoned to meet on March 17, but Charles had no intention of waiting to ask the House to give their sanction to a fleet being sent to the relief of Rochelle. Accordingly, the fleet was ordered to sail on March 1, and Lord Denbigh was appointed Admiral. The old story of mismanagement, want of money to pay the troops and buy provisions, and the utter incompetency of the Government to deal with the difficulties that presented themselves, combined to delay the sailing of the fleet until the end of

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[1] Commission, Feb. 20.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] Digby to Lord Conway, Jan. 21, 1637.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] An extract from this military tract of Lord Wimbledon's, written in 1628, is given in the appendix to this vol.

April. And what a fleet it was when it did sail! "There was such hiding and flying away of mariners for want of pay and for bad victuals this voyage," wrote a Devonshire gentleman, "that the report is that they were fain to man their ships, being but sixteen[1] (*sic*) sail, with lame and untrained soldiers, being very unfit for such a service."[2] Was it to be wondered at that Denbigh failed to relieve Rochelle and returned to England having done nothing?

As a precautionary measure, before the summoning of Parliament, all those who had been imprisoned for refusing the loan, and they were not a few in number, were released and allowed to return to their homes. An additional sop was likewise thrown to the coming Parliament by the release of Sir John Eliot and other leading members of the late Parliament, who had been imprisoned for their zeal in the cause of liberty.

The work of the first session of the King's third Parliament may be summed up in three short sentences. The celebrated Petition of Right was passed. Five subsidies were granted to the King. A Remonstrance was drawn up by the Commons.

The Petition of Right, which is the second great charter of English liberties, declared forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of Parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, the billeting of soldiers, and martial law, to be against the laws of England. The Remonstrance may be termed a codicil to the former bill, as it struck at the root of several grievances, of which the levying of tonnage and poundage without the consent of Parliament, and the power of Buckingham, were two of the chief. Charles, fearing to be deprived of one of his chief resources for fitting out his navy and determined to uphold his favourite in all that he did, nipped the Remonstrance in the bud by suddenly proroguing Parliament.

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[1] The fleet consisted of sixty or seventy ships.

[2] *Walter Yonge's Diary.*

Whilst the House of Commons was busily employed censuring Buckingham, that mighty nobleman was pursuing the path of his extravagant career, regardless of the popular hate his actions had evoked. Fortune still smiled upon him. The King was as much attached to him as ever. He had a devoted wife, and a still more devoted mother, who had such unbounded faith in him that, only a few months before, she had assured him that if she had a world to dispose of he should have the command of it.[1] Friends also the Duke had, who, captivated by the charms of his manner and person, and admiring his daring spirit in the hour of danger, still adhered to him. "Buckingham is the bravest, worthiest, soul alive," wrote the dashing Sir George Goring[2] to Secretary Conway, "and an honour to the land that bred him."[3] "The creature lives not," wrote the old Earl of Banbury to Buckingham, "that loves you as I do."[4] Is it surprising if Buckingham, blinded by the voice of flattery, was unconscious of the incalculable harm he had done? But the Duke's career was well nigh over.

The grant of five subsidies enabled the King and Buckingham to fit out a new expedition to send to the relief of Rochelle, which still held out against Richelieu. Both the King and Buckingham had pledged their word to the Rochellese and could not in honour turn their backs on the beleaguered city. The Duke was to have command of the relief expedition, and went down to Portsmouth the middle of August to superintend the final preparations of the fleet, which it was decreed he should not live to see set sail.[1] On the morning of August 23, as he was leaving the house of Captain Mason, the treasurer of the army, and as he was stooping in the dark hall to speak to Colonel Fryer, a man pressed forward and stabbed the Duke in the breast. Buckingham had sufficient strength to draw the knife from the wound, and exclaiming "the villain has killed me," fell dead upon the floor.

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[1] The Countess of Buckingham to her son, July 26, 1627.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] Created Baron Goring, April 14, 1628. A distinguished royalist commander during the civil wars.

[3] May 22, 1628.—*S. P. Dom.*

[4] June 20, 1628.—*S. P. Dom.*

The story of John Felton's crime has been often told, but the story of his wrongs only partly so. As is well-known, Felton was the younger son of a younger branch of one of the oldest families in Suffolk. A gentleman by birth, he was also a gentleman by profession, being the subaltern officer in a company of foot. There is conclusive proof that he served in the Cadiz expedition as a lieutenant in Sir Edward Cecil's regiment,[2] and, in addition to the miseries he endured in that voyage, was kept waiting many months for his pay. In June, 1627, Felton was selected for service in the expedition to the Isle of Rhé, and, his captain being lately dead, Felton petitioned for the vacant company, but was refused. Whilst serving in the Isle of Rhé, as a lieutenant in Sir James Ramsay's regiment, Felton's captain was killed. Again did Felton petition for his promotion, which meant eight shillings a day pay instead of three, and again he was refused. It is said that when he represented to the Duke that he had not the means to live, the Duke told him he might hang himself if he could not live. This injustice caused Felton to leave the army in disgust. There was about £80 due to him for his pay in this last expedition, but not a penny could he get. Poverty, idleness, and a naturally "melancholick nature," as Lord Clarendon terms it, magnified the wrong he had received at the Duke's hands. The literature with which he filled his morbid mind was that which painted Buckingham as the greatest enemy to his country. Felton soon became possessed with the idea that he was the instrument chosen by God to rescue his country from the despot who misgoverned it. In this state of fanatical enthusiasm he committed the dark deed. His bitter repentance for his crime, before he was executed, affords abundant proof that he was not a fanatic of the ordinary kind, for a real fanatic would have gloried in the act to the very end of his life. Let us remember that Felton died lamenting his crime and praying for forgiveness.

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[1] After the duke's death the command of the fleet was given to the Earl of Lindsey, who sailed for Rochelle, but could not make his men fight when they got there. On Oct. 18, Rochelle capitulated, finding the English fleet could render no assistance.

[2] I think I have satisfactorily proved this fact in my article on "Lieutenant Felton," in *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, x. pp. 83–4, from which article the above facts relating to Felton are reproduced.

At the time that one of his former officers was making his way to Portsmouth to assassinate the Duke, Wimbledon was with his regiment in Holland, whither he had proceeded with Lord Willoughby[1] about the first week in August. The Duke's death was a great misfortune to Wimbledon, and doubtless was grievous news to him. When a rumour reached him that the Earl of Holland was to go admiral of the fleet in the Duke's place, and that there were to be other important changes consequent on this event, Wimbledon hastened his return home.

"My Lord of Wimbledon intends to take his passage for England three days hence," wrote Dudley Carleton to his uncle,

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[1] "A passe for the Lorde Visc. Wimbledon and the Lo: Willoughby wth their retinue to transport themselves into the United Provinces of the Lowe Countries." July 31, 1628.—*Council Register*. Lord Willoughby was the Earl of Lindsey's eldest son.

Lord Dorchester, on Sept. 13, "as not desiring to be absent upon these alterations."[1]

Instead, however, of meeting with any good fortune on his return to England, Wimbledon met with two disasters which came one on the top of another within the short space of forty-eight hours. Mr. Beaulieu, in writing to Sir Thomas Puckering, on Nov. 19, thus refers to these last-named disasters:—

> "The Dutch Ambassadors here have this day had their house, which is Cecil House, in the Strand, burnt down to the ground by a sudden and violent fire, that took in it at four of the clock in the morning, so as the ladies had much ado to save themselves.
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> "This misfortune happened to my Lord Wimbledon, the owner of the house, as well as to them, and came to him as one of Job's messengers at the heels of a greater which he received yesterday, by the blowing up of part of his fair house at Wimbledon, which happened by the mistakeing of some maidens, who, instead of a barrel of soap, opened a barrel of gunpowder, which lay in the cellar, and let a spark of the candle fall in. But the greatest loss which he is reported to have suffered therein, is of his evidences and papers which are reported to have been burnt."[2]

Another contemporary writer gives a still more interesting account of the fire at Cecil House.

> "On Wednesday morning," he wrote, "about four of the clock, a flame was seen to break out of a beautifully and richly furnished house in the Strand, where the States' Ambassadors have lodged these three or four years. It is now, with all the curious pictures and rich hangings, burnt and demolished to the ground, and the cellar is yet burning like a furnace, being filled with fuel. The poor ambassador, his wife, and servants, were fain to run away, half ready and half unready. . . . . All this came as my Lord

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[1] *S. P. Holland.*

[2] *Court and Times*, i. p. 433.

Totness, a near neighbour, told me, by a careless sleepy fellow clapping of a candle to a post in one of the upper rooms, which was lined with fir boards. Some say they were excessive merry that night, upon that incomparable prize taken by their nation in the West Indies." [1]

The late Duke's friends did not escape the odium which clung to Buckingham's memory long after he was dead. Popular feeling credited the Duke's allies with carrying out his tyrannical measures against the poor and oppressed. As is often the case, the innocent were made to suffer with the guilty. The following extract proves this, as Lord Wimbledon was one of the large batch of officers who were kept waiting years for their pay, and, as a large sum was due to him at the time of the Duke's death, it was most unlikely he would try to have the officers' arrears of pay cut down :—

"Yesterday there was a paper put into the window of my Lord Conway," wrote Mr. Pory to a friend, "to let him know that, whereas he made himself the main opposite against the colonels, captains, and other officers that had served in the late wars, to draw them from nine months' pay which was their due, to three months' bare pay, he must look to himself, for there is another Felton, and another knife ready for his throat, as well as there was for the duke's, and bid him tell his great friend the lord treasurer [Weston] as much. So now my Lord Wimbledon takes that distasteful part upon him, my Lord Conway giving fair words." [2]

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[1] Pory to Mead, Nov. 21.—*Court and Times*, i. p. 434. The Plate Fleet, which had escaped both Wimbledon and Willoughby in former years, had this autumn been captured by Peter Petersen Heyn, Admiral of the Dutch West India Fleet.

[2] Pory to Mead, Dec. 19, 1628.—*Court and Times*, i. p. 454.

CHAPTER VII.

1629–1631.

Death of Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick—The last days of Spinola—Siege of Bois-le-duc—Viscount Wimbledon's thirty-nine gentlemen volunteers—Details of the Siege—A Royal Volunteer in the States' Camp—The Dutch surprise Wesel—Surrender of Bois-le-duc—An interesting spectacle—Affairs in England—Scarcity of money—Lord Wimbledon's scheme for filling the Treasury—Its success—Death of the Earl of Pembroke—Viscount Wimbledon appointed Governor of Portsmouth—Result of his first visit there—Gustavus Adolphus lands in Germany—The King of Great Britain's policy—Peace signed between England and Spain—Oliver Cromwell is summoned to appear before the Privy Council—Lord Wimbledon appointed a Commissioner for the Relief of the Poor—Death of the Viscountess Wimbledon—Departure of Lord Wimbledon for Holland—His claim against the Dutch Government—He loses the command of his regiment and leaves Holland for ever.

For ten long years Europe had been rent in twain by the sanguinary contest which future generations were to speak of with bated breath as the Thirty Years' War. Some of the principal actors in the opening scenes of this great war game had already disappeared from the blood-stained arena. Mansfeld was dead. He had not died, as he would have wished, on the field of battle with his face to the foe, and the shout of victory ringing in his dying ears, but he had met death with the cool calm courage with which he had been wont to await an enemy's charge, and he awaited the approach of the King of Terrors with his sword by his side, dressed in his gayest apparel.[1] A few weeks before this great warrior's death took place, Christian of Brunswick had paid the debt of nature, and the exiled Queen of Bohemia had one brave champion the less to uphold her cause, and worship the fair hand that had worn the glove he carried, like a chivalrous knight of olden days, fastened to his hat. Christian of Denmark was on the eve of retiring from the championship of Protestantism, being weary of waiting for the substantial succours long since promised him by his royal nephew, Charles, but which he had waited for in vain. And there was another distinguished warrior, who for a quarter of a century had been fighting the King of Spain's battles and had covered himself with imperishable glory, who was soon to pass away from the world he had so much adorned. It is almost needless to say, this warrior was the Marquis Spinola.[1]

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[1] Mansfeld sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of Wallenstein at Dessau Bridge (in the Duchy of Anhalt) in April, 1624, and, not being able to

The Prince of Orange taking advantage of the absence of Spinola, who had been sent early in 1629 to command the Spanish army in Italy, determined to carry on the war with renewed vigour. Early in April, the Prince made preparations for investing Bois-le-duc, which for many years had been in the hands of the Spaniards and had

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make fresh head against the Imperialists, he divided his army between the Duke of Weymar and Bethlem Gabor in the ensuing autumn. With a few faithful officers and followers, Mansfeld set out for Venice towards the end of November. A weakened constitution and the inclemency of the weather made this journey too much for his strength. Dysentery supervened, and on Nov. 30, he died at a small village in Bosnia. Not wishing to die in his bed he caused himself to be dressed in his richest costume, and standing up with his sword at his side, and supported by two of his officers, he valiantly met his death.—De Villermont's *Ernest de Mansfeldt*, ii. pp. 342–3.

[1] Spinola died at *Castel de Nuovo de Scrinia*, 25 Sept. 1630, after the siege of Casale, in North Italy, a victim to the base ingratitude of Spain. The treatment he met with at the hands of Philip IV. broke his lion heart, and brought on a burning fever of which he died. Almost his last words were—"*Me han quitado la honra.*" His noble remains lie buried in Prague Cathedral under a handsome table monument.

hitherto been deemed impregnable.[1] The States collected a large army together by the middle of April, which included the four English regiments commanded by Lord Vere, Lord Wimbledon, Sir Charles Morgan, and Sir Edward Harwood, and three Scotch regiments. This British contingent was further reinforced by the arrival in Holland, this spring, of the remnants of Morgan's force, who had returned under their gallant leader from the hopeless task of opposing Tilly's veterans in North Germany. In view of the coming siege, which was sure to be a long and arduous one, attended with many dangers to the besieging army, Lord Wimbledon hastened to rejoin his regiment.[2]

And when again you're plunged in war
He'll show his fighting spirit.

He went over to Holland about the third week in April, accompanied by thirty-nine gentlemen volunteers who attached themselves to his regiment,[3] in order to learn a lesson in the art of war under a colonel who had spent so many years of his life in the Dutch War. Among these volunteers were the Lord Craven,[4] Lord Doncaster,[1] Lord Fielding,[2] Sir Thomas Glemham,[3] and Mr. Cecil.[4] In like manner many gentlemen attached themselves to Lord Vere's, Sir Charles Morgan's, and Sir Edward Harwood's regiments.[5]

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[1] Davies' *Holland*, ii. p. 576.

[2] "A Passe for the Lo: Visc. Wimbleton to repaire into the lowe countries, together with his followers, servantes and whole retinue, takeinge w^th him tronkes of apparrel, bagge and baggadge and all necessary provisions, etc."—*Council Register*, April 20, 1629.

[3] See the list of lords and gentlemen attached to Viscount Wimbledon's regiment at the end of Hexham's *Siege of the Busse*, published at Delph, 1630, 12°.

[4] William Craven, eldest son of Sir Wm. Craven (Lord Mayor of London in 1611), served for many years under Henry, Prince of Orange, and Gustavus Adolphus, and was distinguished alike for his bravery and generosity. He attached himself to the cause of the exiled Queen of Bohemia, and continued her most faithful adherent to the end of her life. Some historians have asserted that he was privately married to her, but this assertion has never been proved. He was created Lord Craven in 1626, and Viscount and Earl in 1663. He died in 1697, aged 88, when all his titles, except a second barony, conferred on him in 1665, with remainder to his cousin, Sir Thomas Craven, and his

The town of Bois-le-duc, which was of immense strength, and from being situated in a middle of a Brabant marsh difficult of approach, was invested by the States' army on April 29. The besieging army speedily erected huts, and began their approaches in the workmanlike manner learnt by many years' experience in the school of the pickaxe and spade. Each regiment had its own quarter, and formed a link of the chain which encompassed Bois-le-duc like an iron girdle.

Among the distinguished personages who came to the Dutch camp to serve as volunteers, was the exiled Frederick, once an anointed sovereign, but now "a nameless thing," and a dependant on Dutch charity. Dutch victories by sea and land had in no way brought Frederick nearer the promised land of his aspirations, and to add to

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male issue, became extinct. The second barony of Craven accordingly devolved upon Wm. Craven, Esq., of Combe Abbey (grandson of Sir Thos. Craven), from whom the present Earl of Craven descends.

[1] James Hay Viscount Doncaster, son of the Earl of Carlisle. He succeeded his father in 1636 as second Earl of Carlisle.

[2] Basil Viscount Fielding, eldest son of the first Earl of Denbigh, by Mary Villiers, sister of George Duke of Buckingham. It is recorded of this nobleman that when Buckingham arrived in England from the Isle of Rhé, he was met at Plymouth by his young nephew, Lord Fielding, who accompanied him to London, and knowing the danger his uncle ran by showing himself to an enraged populace, Lord Fielding begged his uncle to change clothes with him, "at which sweet proposition," says Sir Henry Wotton, "the Duke caught him in his arms and kissed him, yet would not." — *Wottonianæ Reliquiæ*, i. p. 229.

[3] Sir Thomas Glemham, of Glemham, Suffolk, knight.

[4] This was probably a son of Wm Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury.

[5] Lord Vere, who had a very large regiment, had nearly 100 volunteers. Morgan and Harwood had neither of them so many as Lord Wimbledon. See Hexham's list, as before.

his misfortunes his eldest son—the darling of his soul—had been drowned early this year.[1] "It is a grief that no pen can express," wrote Frederick to Charles I. It was partly to change the current of his sad thoughts that sent Frederick a few months after to the States' camp, from whence he wrote to his wife giving some details of the siege:—

"TO THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.

"MADAM,

"I arrived yesterday between one and two o'clock at Crevecoeur. I met the Prince of Orange and Count Ernest, who were going towards Enghien, to make some works there. M. Vere[2] and M. Cecil[3] accompanied me as far as my lodging. I have seen all the forts and works which reach from the last named place to here. In the evening I went to a parade of some English troops—two companies of M. Vere's, and one of M. Cecil's going to the trenches. The Prince's lodging being hard by, I went there and met him; he did me the honour to see me back to my abode. This morning I was with M. Vere and M. Harwoot in the English trenches, where they are making a gallery to pass under the counterscarpe of the small forts, and I dined at the Prince's, where M. Courtomer has arrived. . . . Yesterday, about eleven o'clock at night, a fire burst out in M. Cecill's quarter;[4] it was a very great fire, and nearly all the huts of his regiment are burnt. The Count de Bergues [Van den Berg] lies with his army at Loin, and at Geprang, which is three hours' distance from here. I hope he will not be able to relieve the town, though he may make a great boast of doing so. The works that the Prince has raised, to defend the camp, are on a very large scale. To-morrow I shall go and see the operations of

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[1] See an account of the death of Prince Frederick Henry in a letter from the Countess Livingstone to Lord Dorchester, Feb. 14, 1629.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] Lord Vere.

[3] Lord Wimbledon.

[4] The position of Lord Wimbledon's regiment is given in Hexham's *Siege of the Busse*, p. 7, but this author says nothing about the destroying element having again paid an unwelcome call upon the unlucky Wimbledon.

Count Ernest, and this evening the French trenches. Those in the town and forts fire very little. I herewith send you enclosed what Nedersole [Nethersole] writes to me. It seems that he is dissatisfied, because they have not told him what M. Vanne[1] has done here. When you shall have read it, you can send it me back on the first opportunity.

"Yesterday there was killed in the English trenches, Omkais, one of their best engineers, and there were two of them wounded. I have cause to be pleased with the attention all of your countrymen pay me, especially by the good M. Vere and Colonel Harwoot. M. de Bouillon[2] has conducted me from his quarter to my lodging, where M. de Candall[3] has also been, and nearly all the officers of every nationality. This is all the news I can send you of what is going on here. You may be assured that in every place where I shall be you will always be entirely beloved by him who will be for all his life, my dear heart, your very faithful friend,

"and very affectionate servant,
"FRIDERIC.

"From the camp before
Bois-le-Duc
this $\frac{16}{26}$ of June, 1629."[4]

"TO THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.

"MADAM,

"I wrote to you yesterday, and the day before that. This is to tell you that the Count of Berg came this morning, with all his army in sight of our trenches, but he scarcely came within reach of our fire with which his arrival was welcomed. He gave the alarm to the whole camp. It seems to me his intention has been to try and put succours into the town, but he has not found the means of doing so. . . . The said Count has returned to his camp, and I have only just returned, having been up all night. I kiss your dear hands and your mouth in imagination, and am all my life,

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[1] Sir Harry Vane. This diplomatist had been sent to the Hague by Charles I. early in 1629 to try and induce the States to accept the offers of peace made by Spain. He followed the Prince of Orange to the camp.

[2] Duke of Bouillom.

[3] Duke of Candale, colonel of a French regiment in the States' service.

[4] From the French copy in Bromley's *Royal Letters*, pp. 22–4.

"Madam,
"your very faithful friend,
"and very affectionate servant,
"FRIDERIC.

"From the Camp,
this 4th of July (n. s.), 1629."[1]

Failing in his efforts to relieve the beleagued city, Van den Berg marched towards Guelderland, hoping to draw the Prince of Orange from Bois-le-duc to protect the Dutch frontiers. But Henry of Nassau was not a man to relinquish his purpose, happen what might, so he contented himself with sending 5,000 men under Count Ernest of Nassau to strengthen the neighbouring garrisons, and the peasants were ordered to lay waste the country and retire with their cattle and provisions into the towns.[2] Van den Berg, reinforced by 17,000 fresh troops, laid siege to the strong town of Amersfoort, which was basely delivered up without a blow being struck. This town being only six leagues from Utrecht caused a general panic among the citizens of that and other neighbouring towns. The triumph of the Spaniards was but short-lived, for, having laid waste all the country they passed through, they had to depend for food on regular supplies being sent them from Wesel, and, about the middle of August, this important stronghold was surprised and taken by Dieden, governor of Emerich.[3] This caused Van den Berg's army to raise the siege of Hattem[4] and retire to Rhineberg.

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[1] Bromley's *Royal Letters*, pp. 26–7.

[2] Davies' *Holland*, ii. p. 576.

[3] *Ibid*, ii. p. 578.

[4] A town on the Yssell, near Deventer and Kampen.

On August 23, there was a general thanksgiving throughout the States' army before Bois-le-duc for the capture of Wesel.[1] A few days before this, Sir Edward Vere, lieut.-colonel to Lord Vere, was mortally wounded by a musket shot and died soon after. The English and Scotch regiments won great renown in this siege,[2] and the gentlemen volunteers attached to these regiments were conspicuous for their energy and gallantry.

> "My Lord of Craven, whose worth and bounty to my Lord of Wimbleton's company was knowne to us," wrote an officer who served at this siege, "this night [Aug. 18] and the day following watched with my Lord of Oxford. The next night with my Lord Cecill's company, and the tthird night with General Morgan's regiment. My Lord Doncaster and my Lord Fielding, two noble sparkes, trayled pikes under my Lord of Wimbleton's company and went down to the approaches upon any service that was to be done, and exposed their bodies both to danger and sicknes."[3]

On September 14, after an arduous siege of nearly five months, Grobbendonck, the governor of Bois-le-duc, surrendered the town to Henry of Nassau, and, on September 17, the garrison marched out with the honours of war.

The Prince and Princess of Orange, the King and Queen of Bohemia, the Prince of Denmark, with forty dukes, counts, and barons, viewed the sad procession which left one of the city gates, whilst the victorious troops of the Prince of Orange marched in at another.[4] The garrison headed the procession, followed by the sick and wounded. Then came the governor and his wife in a carriage, the latter holding her newly-born infant in her arms, and lastly came the Jesuits, nuns, and friars, carrying in their midst a miracle working image of the Virgin Mary, which, despite its great reputation, had on this occasion failed to preserve the town for those who worshipped it.

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[1] Hexham's *Siege of the Busse*, p. 27.

[2] Prince Henry of Nassau styled the Scotch regiments the bulwarks of the Republic. See Grose's *Military Antiquities*, ii. p. 170.

[3] Hexham, p. 26.

[4] Green's *Princesses of England*, v. p. 473.

Great were the rejoicings throughout the United Provinces at this signal victory. But every pleasure has some drawback, and the States had to deplore the loss of the gallant admiral,[1] who only a few months before had captured the Spanish treasure ships, but was now lying in his cold dark tomb in Delft church, near the remains of the heroic William the Silent.

Whilst the United Provinces were enriching and strengthening their kingdom by that unity which means strength, Great Britain was losing her *prestige* amongst European nations by an undecided foreign policy and home misgovernment. The King's third Parliament had come to a sudden end, after a short and stormy session, in the early part of 1629. Tonnage and poundage was the rock which wrecked this session, though, apart from this grievance, were religious controversies which now began to assume a very formidable aspect, and which soon were to cause a worse rebellion in Britain than had ever been known there before. Sir John Eliot, Hollis, and Valentine, three of the patriots who, at the close of this stormy session had been chiefly instrumental in framing and passing a remonstrance which declared Papists, Arminians, and those who levied tonnage and poundage, enemies to the commonwealth, were cast into prison and ordered to pay heavy fines. This they unanimously refused to do, and Eliot, who has justly been termed a martyr to the liberties of England, died of consumption after many months of weary confinement in the Tower of London.

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[1] Admiral Peter Petersen Heyn was slain in a sea-fight with the Dunkirk pirates, June 20, 1629. It is recorded that when the States' deputies sent a message of condolence to the admiral's aged peasant mother, she said: "Aye, I thought what would be the end of him. He was always a vagabond, but I did my best to correct him. He has got no more than he deserved."

When Lord Wimbledon returned to England in the autumn of 1629 and resumed his seat at the Privy Council Board, he found that great changes had taken place in the relations between Great Britain, France, and Spain, since he had left England. Peace had been signed with France in the previous May, and negotiations for peace between England and Spain had secretly been in progress for some months. Spain had not been the first to suggest a peace between the two countries, and, when overtures were made to Philip IV. by his royal brother, the Spanish monarch boasted that the King of England had been the first to break the peace, but was glad enough now to try to renew it. Having failed to recover the Palatinate from his brother-in-law by force of arms, Charles thought he would change his tactics, and, by dangling some tempting bait before Philip's eyes, would try if diplomacy could not recover the towns in the Palatinate at that time garrisoned by Spanish troops. In short, Charles hoped to effect by treaty what his father had ineffectually laboured to accomplish.

The dispatch of ambassadors to Holland, to Spain, and to Sweden, with all the expenses attendant on those missions, made a great hole in the royal treasury. The subsidies granted by Parliament in 1628 were all spent, and large sums were still owing to many of the King's subjects. It was at this crisis in money affairs that Charles adopted an expedient of raising money which had been suggested to him by Buckingham. This expedient was to revive an obsolete, though unrepealed, law of Edward II., which empowered the King to summon persons possessed of £40 a year, and upwards, in land, to attend him at his coronation and receive the honour of knighthood, or else compound for their neglect.

This revival of an obsolete law was a brilliant idea, as it was technically legal, and though it could not receive the approbation of the English judges, it had to receive their sanction, being just within the letter of the law. The idea did not originate with Buckingham, but was suggested to him by a member of the Privy Council—Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon. This "ingenious peer," as Sir Kenelm Digby subsequently styled Wimbledon, on account of the clever way in which he ferreted out obsolete methods of raising money, took no small credit to himself for the "composition for knighthood" scheme.

> "It was my indeavour onlie," wrote Wimbledon to the king a few years after the institution of this new scheme for filling the royal treasury, "that presented my noble Lo: Duke with the designe of the extorted fees to present your Majestie withall, and have this 4 or 5 yeares followed it, with your Majestie's other Commissioners, to that perfection, that your Majestie's coffers hath already received good profitt from it and maie receive manie thousands more, if it be well followed, besides the good it maie bringe to yoúr subjects, that groane under the burthen of extortion."[1]

The first demand for composition for knighthood was made in January, 1630.[2] As might have been expected, this unlooked for claim on their purses raised great indignation amongst the gentry of England. They did not discover in this new tax the benefit to his Majesty's subjects in general, which was so apparent to the originator of the scheme. Indeed many utterly refused to compound at first, and it was only when commissioners had been appointed in every county to fix the rates of composition[1] and enforce payment, that the golden stream began to flow slowly, but surely, into the royal treasury. This success was mainly due to the fact that the commissioners had the strong arm of the law to back them up in their unpopular employment, for what had not been declared illegal must, perforce, be legal. The forced loan had been put a stop to by Parliament, but there was no Parliament now to arrest a new system of extortion, and Charles had no intention of calling another if he could possibly help it.[2]

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[1] Wimbledon to Charles I. 1635? cclxxx. No. 78.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] On Jan. 27 a royal warrant was issued appointing certain commissioners (one of whom was Lord Wimbledon) "to treat with all the king's subjects who will compound for their fines in respect of their knighthood at the king's coronation, and to tax such fines and appoint days of payment."—*S. P. Dom.*

On April 10, 1630, died very suddenly, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, in the prime of life. He was one of the most popular, as well as one of the most generous, men of his time, and a difficult man to replace in the high posts he so ably filled.[3] By his lamented death the Stewardship of the King's household and the Governorship of Portsmouth became vacant. After a lapse of nearly four months, the King bestowed the latter appointment on Edward Viscount Wimbledon.[4]

It so happened that the States' army did not take the field in the summer of 1630, so Lord Wimbledon's presence was not required in Holland this year. As soon, therefore, as he received his commission, he set out for Portsmouth to take up his new command.[1]

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[1] The commissioners had instructions not to accept of a less sum than would have been due by the person fined upon a tax of three subsidies and a half.

[2] A bill for abolishing knighthood fines was passed by the Long Parliament in 1641.

[3] Lord Pembroke left no issue by his wife, (Mary, eldest daughter and co-heir of Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury), and was succeeded by his brother Philip, Earl of Montgomery, the unworthy husband of the heroic Anne, Countess of Dorset.

[4] "The office of keep. and capt. of the Towne and Isle of Portsmouth and Castle there wth all fees and p^{r}eeminences thereunto belonging, granted to Edward Visc. Wimbledon during his Ma^{te} pleasure, in as ample manner as the late Earle of Pembrooke enjoyed the same. By order under his Ma^{te} signe manuall procured by the Lord Visc. Dorchester, ult. Julii, 1630." Docquets, 1629–34.—*S. P. Dom.*

In the summer of 1630 a new champion of the Protestant religion made his appearance in Germany. This was Gustavus Adolphus, the Lion of the North. His tardy appearance on the scene of war was due to circumstances over which he had no control. One of the chief hindrances to his taking the field against the Emperor had been the continuance of hostilities between Sweden and Poland. But now, thanks to the intervention of Great Britain and France, a peace was brought about between the two nations, and Gustavus was able to devote himself entirely to the cause which inclination, religion, and the ties of marriage,[2] naturally led him. Sir Thomas Roe, who had been sent to the Baltic by Charles to mediate, in conjunction with the French ambassador, a peace between Sweden and Poland, was the most devoted of all the Queen of Bohemia's many adherents. Consequently, he urged upon Gustavus the advisability of an immediate invasion of Germany,[3] and held out hopes to the Swedish monarch that his Britannic Majesty would aid the Swedish army with money and troops. Gustavus was quick to perceive that the hour had now come for him to invade Germany. Imperial misrule had exasperated German Protestants, and caused the powerful Duke of Saxony, who had so long oscillated and vacillated between the two belligerents, to gravitate at length towards the side of the Protestants.

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[1] Wimbledon to Dorchester, Aug. 1.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] Gustavus had married the sister of George William, Elector of Brandenburgh, the nominal head of the German Protestant Princes.

[3] As a reward for his good advice, Gustavus sent Roe £2,000 after the decisive battle of Leipsig in 1631.

Wallenstein, the mainspring of the Imperial army, had been superseded and dismissed from his command, and his absence was an additional reason for urging Gustavus to take the field. So the noble Swede left his fatherland with a small, but perfectly disciplined, army, for that battlefield of Europe which was to bring him such a rich harvest of glory. And Roe returned to England to urge his master to cast in his lot with the new Protestant champion, who was shortly to alter the map of Germany in so remarkable a manner.

Charles belonged to that large class of persons who try to win a great stake with a small venture. He would not openly range himself on the side of Gustavus for fear of offending Spain, with whom he was about to conclude a treaty from which he expected great advantages. So Charles resorted to the old plan of tacitly allowing a body of volunteers to be raised in England and Scotland to swell the ranks of the Swedish army, and then contented himself with making half promises of further assistance to the Swedish monarch. It would be time enough, thought Charles, to rush into a Swedish alliance when he had got all he wanted from Spain. In the meantime, Spain was the strongest power and the best worth cultivating.

Early in November, 1630, peace was signed at Madrid between England and Spain. On December 5 this peace was proclaimed in London.[1] Both parties to the treaty guaranteed more than they could perform. England was to bring about a peace between the Dutch and the Spaniards, and Spain was to mediate with the Emperor for the restitution of the Palatinate. This treaty was an old story with a new title.

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[1] Proclamation that his Majesty has renewed the ancient amity and good intelligence with Spain.—*Coll. Procs.* Chas. I. No. 137.—*S. P. Dom.*

Early in November, Wimbledon was back in London, attending meetings of the Privy Council,[1] and the Council of War. He had found Portsmouth ill-fortified and ill-prepared to resist the attack of an invading army. It was twenty-two years since Sir Francis Vere, the last military governor, had died, and the defences of Portsmouth had been greatly neglected. Fully estimating the importance of such a great seaport, Wimbledon determined to inaugurate his government of this town by making it one of the most strongly fortified places in England. He returned to London with this object in view, leaving Captain Brett,[2] his lieutenant-governor, to act as his deputy in his absence. The King was asked for a grant of money and timber for necessary repairs at Portsmouth, and, crippled as his resources were, he granted the request. On March 9, 1631, a royal warrant was issued, directing the sum of £4,382 3*s.* to be paid to Edward Viscount Wimbledon, and authorising the officers of the New Forest to send 877 tons of timber to Portsmouth for the repair of the fortifications.[3]

In the summer of 1630 a new charter[4] had been granted to the town of Huntingdon, which placed unusual power in the hands of the mayor and twelve aldermen who had been appointed by the King. One of the first persons to fall foul of the new civic authorities was Oliver Cromwell. By all accounts the objections that Cromwell made to the aldermen's abuse of power were well-founded, but, in his excessive zeal for the cause of justice and the popular good, he forgot the respect due to the mayor and said more than he ought. The mayor hastened to report Cromwell's and another citizen's obstruction to the Privy Council, who sent a warrant to Huntingdon summoning "Oliver Cromwell, Esq., and William Kilburne, gent," to appear before their Board without delay.

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[1] He was present at a Privy Council meeting, 3 Nov.—*Council Register.*

[2] Captain Thomas Brett, an old soldier who had served in several of the late naval expeditions. This was probably the same Capt. Brett, who told his kinsman, the Duke of Buckingham, that the great fleet sent against Cadiz would do nothing, "as there was sent with it Bag without money, Cook without meat, and Love without charity;" these being the names of three of the captains in the fleet.—*Court and Times*, i. p. 74.

[3] *Sign Manuals*, *Car.* I. xii. No. 61.

[4] "Among the means by which Charles I. expected to impose his policy on the country, was a sweeping change in the charters by which the ancient towns and cities of the realm were governed. Old charters were called in, and new ones issued. The Saxon government by reeves, bailiffs, and burgesses, being abolished in favour of the Norman forms of mayor, aldermen, and recorder, all elected, or appointed, to serve for life. The new plan was expected to give the Crown a complete control over the elections and a powerful means of influencing the Judicial bench."—See the Duke of Manchester's *Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne*, i. p. 337.

On November 26, Cromwell and Kilburne made their appearance before the Council,[1] and their names having been entered in the Council register, they were ordered to remain in custody until they were called up for a hearing. On December 1, the case was heard before a full Board, on which sat Lord Wimbledon and about a dozen more councillors.[2] The mayor and aldermen of Huntingdon stated their case against the two defendants, and, after a long hearing of both sides the case was referred to the Lord Privy Seal (the Earl of Manchester), a large landowner in the county of Huntingdon. This nobleman arranged an amicable settlement of the case between the two parties, upholding Cromwell's objections to the actions of the aldermen, but condemning the disrespect shown to the mayor, for which Cromwell said he was sorry, and that, as Dr. Johnson says, is all a gentleman ought to say.

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[1] There were present at the Council on this occasion "the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Bridgewater, the Earl of Danby, the Earl of Kellie, Lord Viscount Wimbledon, Lord Viscount Dorchester, Lord Viscount Falkland, Lord Viscount Grandison, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Vice Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Coke."—*Council Register.*

[2] *Ibid.*

The honourable post of privy councillor in the reign of Charles I. was no sinecure. The King made every use conceivable of his councillors of state. They acted as a political body-guard to his Majesty, as royal commissioners, magistrates, judges, tax assessors, and inventors of schemes for bringing money into an empty treasury. The royal commission of Jan. 5, 1631, is a good specimen of the many uses the privy councillors were put to. They and other commissioners were appointed to

> "Inquire into the execution of the laws which any way concern the relief of the poor, the binding out of apprentices, the setting to work poor people, the compelling the lazy to work, the maintenance of houses of correction, payments for relief of soldiers and mariners, punishment of rogues and vagabonds, repressing drunkenness, keeping watch and ward and how other public services for God, the king, and the commonwealth, are put in practice and executed."[1]

Lord Wimbledon's name occupies a prominent position in this Jack-of-all-trades commission. In the previous year Wimbledon had presented a petition to his Majesty on behalf of the poor.[2] The foregoing commission was the outcome of this petition. It was not long before Wimbledon was able to benefit the poor of Surrey in a very material form. For some months the plague had been rife in England, and this time it went hand in hand with famine. The exportation of corn had been prohibited, and this necessary measure was followed by restrictions on the sale of corn at exorbitant prices. Privy councillors, lords lieutenant of counties, and justices, had to pay regular visits to the corn markets to regulate the prices and keep the rich from oppressing the poor, by withholding grain, or demanding too high a price—no easy task.

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[1] Commission, Jan. 5, 1631.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] See *Council Register*, Nov. 12, 1630.

> "My Lord of Salisbury took his journey to Hertford [this week] for regulation of the corn markets in that shire," wrote Mr. Pory to Sir T. Puckering, on April 21, "and my Lord of Holland to Brentford for the same purpose. But my Lord Wimbledon being for the same end last week in Kingston market, he told it my Lord of C., who told it me again, 'Corn,' said, he 'did rise there 18*s*. in the bushel[1] that day, and I think it did so because we were there.'"[2]

Early in May, Lord Wimbledon had the misfortune to lose his wife, who died in London. Her remains were conveyed by night to Wimbledon, and laid at rest in the little chapel of St. Mary's Church, which had been built by her husband as a mortuary chapel[3] for himself and his family.

> "On Thursday last," wrote Sir Thomas Puckering's London correspondent on May 12, "the lady Viscountess Wimbledon's corpse was carried over the bridge of London with a train of twenty caroches drawn with six horses a-piece, and many more with four, and with torches *sans nombre*."[4]

Grand funerals were much in vogue at this period, and Wimbledon was not a man to spare expense in paying the last respect to a wife who had brought him a large fortune. His wife's illness and death had delayed his departure for Holland, where both duty and business called him this spring. Having settled his domestic affairs,[1] and obtained leave from the Privy Council to go over to Holland,[2] Wimbledon departed for that country so closely connected with his life, but which he was shortly to bid adieu to for good and all.

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[1] Seven shillings was the regulation price. See Dr. Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, vii. p. 163.

[2] *Court and Times*, ii. p. 113.

[3] See an account of this chapel in last chapter.

[4] Pory to Puckering, May 12, 1631.—*Court and Times*, ii. p. 113.

A hiatus occurs in the registers of St. Mary's Church, Wimbledon, from 1631 to 163–?, hence the absence of the entry of Lady Wimbledon's burial.

Consequent upon the late treaty with Spain, the sanguine British monarch sent Sir Robert Anstruther to Vienna, to back up the expected demands from Philip IV. relative to the Palatinate, and Sir Harry Vane was sent back to the Hague to urge the Dutch to accept his master's arbitration in their quarrel with Spain. These missions, which were to be utterly devoid of any good result, as far as the Palatinate were concerned, were watched with anxious eyes by the exiled Frederick and Elizabeth. To them the Spanish treaty and the negotiations at Vienna brought no ray of hope. They knew full well that the sword alone could recover their inheritance, and that any treaty with their enemies, made on their behalf by Charles of England, boded them no good.

> "My dear brother did assure me by a letter, that my Lord Wimbledon brought me," wrote the Queen of Bohemia to a confidential friend, "that he would not be lulled asleep by that treaty in which he will not trust, but be provided for the worst, and will never quit our quarrel; this is his very words."[3]

The Prince of Orange shared Elizabeth's opinion regarding the Anglo-Spanish treaty, and seeing no advantage to his country in a peace with Spain, at a time when Dutch arms were decidedly in the ascendant, declined all offers of an arbitration which was entirely dependent on Spain's fulfilling her part of the treaty. So once more the States' army prepared to take the field.

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[1] Administration of the effects of Diana Viscountess Wimbledon, were granted by the Prerogative Court to her husband, Edward Viscount Wimbledon, May 12, 1631. Her estates in Suffolk having been settled on her and her husband in strict settlement, passed on the decease of the Viscount to Elizabeth (Drury) Countess of Exeter.—Gage's *Suffolk*, p. 390.

[2] "A pass for the Lord Viscount Wimbledon, one of his Ma^{ties} most hon^{ble} Privie Counsell, to cross the seas into the Low Countries without search, May 24, 1631."—*Council Register*.

[3] Elizabeth to Roe?—Green's *Princesses*, v. p. 488.

When the Prince of Orange took the field in May, he had such a strong army under his command that his daring spirit prompted him to invade the Spanish Netherlands and lay siege to Antwerp. Accordingly he marched into the enemy's country and made straight for Antwerp. But his actions were unfortunately hampered by the presence of the States' deputies, and when these worthies heard that the Marquis de Santa Cruz was approaching with an army of 12,000 men at his back, they became thoroughly alarmed and used their controlling powers to force Frederick Henry to retreat, sore against his will.[1] It was a bitter disappointment to the whole army, and the excitement of active service was changed for the monotonous life of garrison duty. "It is generally reported throughout the town," wrote a London citizen on June 16, to a friend in the country, "that the Prince of Orange hath put his great army into garrison, *sans rien faire*."[2]

Part of the States' army under the Prince of Orange encamped at Drunen, near Bois-le-duc, whilst the remainder was sent to neighbouring garrisons. The Princess of Orange, to be near her husband, came and took up her residence in the Castle of Heusden.[3] It was in this town that Lord Wimbledon was quartered in the month of July, as appears from a letter of his to the Prince of Orange's secretary.

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[1] Davies' *Holland*, ii. p. 579.

[2] Pory to Puckering, *Court and Times*, ii. p. 124.

[3] Dudley Carleton to Lord Dorchester, July 5.—*S. P. Holland.*

VISCOUNT WIMBLEDON TO SIR C. HUYGENS.

"S^{r} CONSTANTINE HUGENS,

"Considering y^{r} manie businesses maketh me ashamed to trouble you soe ofte as I doe, were it not that necessity urgeth me, and your extraordinary courtesy that rather invites me then discourageteth me from it, w^{ch} maketh my obligation to you so much the more, therefore it shall be a work of supererogation for you to take the paines to see me at Huesdon if yo^{r} leisure will suffer you, w^{ch} I know to be impossible.

"Whereas you are pleased to send me word that his Ex^{cie} hath receaved an answer from the Advocate of holland concerning the businesse of my burnt house, that the State order is sent into England to their Ambassader to treate wth me about it. I doubt much whether he have receaved it or noe, for that some time before my comeing over, he told me that he had receaved a letter from Mo^{r} Pawe,[1] wth signification that he had written him such a letter concerninge that businesse. Therefore I have reason to suspect that he hath not receaved it, w^{ch} is the reason that at this time I must increase your trouble and my obligation, to let me know by what meanes I may receave the like letter, or an Authentike copy of the order to send or carry myself to the Ambassader, that I may come the sooner to an end of my businesse that hath now depended some three yeares, wherein you shall bind me to acknowledge the favor where or wherein I shall be able, and soe I rest,

"Y^{r} most affectionate servant,
"CECYLL WIMBLEDON.

"Huesdon, 27 July, 1631,
Sti : vet :"[2]

Add. "To his very worthy frend
Sir Constantine Hugens,
knight, Secretary to
his Ex^{cie}."

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[1] Adrian Pauw, Seigneur de Heemstedt, conseiller-pensionnaire de Hollande.

[2] *Add. MSS.* 24023 fo. 6.

This letter to Sir C. Huygens,[1] refers to the burning of Cecil House in 1628, which had entailed considerable loss on the owner, and for which he had received no indemnity from the Dutch Government. Cecil House was now rebuilt,[2] and Lord Wimbledon was naturally anxious to come to a settlement with the States, and have his just claim paid. From the length of time that had elapsed since the house was burnt, it is to be supposed that the Dutch Government resisted the claim for indemnity, and it is clear from the foregoing letter that Wimbledon had for some time been fighting the matter. It was an unequal contest, and ended in a disastrous manner. The States having exhausted their pecuniary means by continual warfare, were unable to pay their army regularly, and several of their regiments had large arrears of pay due to them.[3] The claim for a large amount to cover the loss of a fine house in London, with its rich contents, was peculiarly inconvenient to them just then. How the matter was settled remains a mystery, but there is no doubt whatever that the persistency of Lord Wimbledon, to recover what he considered due to him, brought him into disfavour with the Dutch Government,[4] who exercised their power over the army by depriving him of the command of the regiment which he had now held for twenty-six years. The two following extracts, containing the bare announcement of Lord Wimbledon's loss of his command, are unfortunately the only references to the matter that Time's destroying hand has left.

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[1] Constantine Huygens, Lord of Zuylichem, for many years secretary to the Prince of Orange, in which office he was succeeded by his son Constantine. There is a fine portrait of the Huygens family in the Royal Picture Gallery at the Hague.

[2] See a letter from Lord Wimbledon to Lord Dorchester, dated from "Cecill House, Nov. 10, 1630."—*S. P. Dom.* In Pennant's *London* it is stated that "a little farther from Exeter House, where Doyley's warehouse now stands, was Wimbledon (*sic*) House, built by Sir Edward Cecil, son to the first Earl of Exeter," p. 138.

[3] In the winter of 1630 the Prince of Orange presented a remonstrance to the States' Deputies about the arrears of pay due to English, Scotch, and Dutch Regiments since 1614.—See *King's MSS.* Brit. Mus. 265, fo, 43.

[4] After looking at the case from every side, I can see no reason, except this business about the burnt house, for Wimbledon's sudden disgrace.

"My company," wrote Colonel Sir Edward Harwood, to Sir Francis Nethersole, on Sept. 7, from the Hague, "is removed into Ustre ch e[Utrecht] to garrison, upon the goinge oute of my Lo. Wimbleton and M^r Whetston,[1] the meanes by that is somewhat lessend. I conceive you know my Lo. hath loste the Regim^t and is now oute of fav^r. Sometyme this monethe S^r [P.] Pagenham enters on it."[2]

The second extract is from Sir Philip Pakenham,[3] the lieutenant-colonel of Wimbledon's regiment, who was now, after being over twenty years second in command, to get command of the regiment.

"It hath plesed y^r lo. throw S^r Dodly Charleton," wrote Colonel Pakenham to some powerful friend in England on Oct. 28, "to antisepat y^r lo. good wishes of a command that I am neer to, which will be confermed opon me as son as the Prins coms into the hage, for which I do giv y^r lo. humbell thanks."[4]

The date of Lord Wimbledon's departure from Holland is not recorded, but a document signed by him, and dated from Rotterdam,[1] shows he had not left the country on August 30. The loss of his regiment must have been a great blow to Wimbledon, and, following as it did on the loss of his wife, and his failure to recover the losses he had sustained from his London house being burnt down, must have embittered the last days he spent in the Low Countries. Wimbledon was not blessed with the apathetic nature of that man who, when he had suffered a threefold loss, exclaimed :—

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[1] The chaplain to Lord Wimbledon's regiment. See mention of him in a letter from Col. Sir Henry Herbert to Sir J. Coke, March 4, 1633.—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] Harwood to Nethersole, September 7, 1631.—*S. P. Holland.*

[3] Colonel Philip Pakenham was the eldest son of Edmond Pakenham (second son of Robert Pakenham, Clerk of the Green Cloth). He was knighted at Theobalds, March 16, 1616–17. From Robert Pakenham, younger brother to Sir Philip, the present Earl of Longford is descended—Nicholls' *Progresses of James I.*, iii. p. 258. Col. Pakenham died in November, 1635, and Sir Thos. Culpepper succeeded to the command of the regiment.

[4] Pakenham to ——? This letter, which is unaddressed, is dated at foot, "out of the army by Bergen-op-Zon, this 28 of Octo., 1631, newe [style]"—*S. P. Holland.*

> " I've lost my mistress, horse, and wife,
> And when I think on human life
> I'm glad it is no worse ;
> My mistress was lean and old,
> My wife was ugly and a scold—
> I'm sorry for my horse."

No better proof could be given to show that no disgrace was attached to Lord Wimbledon's removal from the colonelcy of his regiment, than the fact that he was still allowed to retain command of his own foot company,[2] which he had commanded for so many years, and had taken such keen interest in. This company, hitherto known as "the Colonel's company," was now styled "Viscount Wimbledon's company," and though its commander never returned to Holland to assume command of it, it continued to bear his name. In the following autumn, at the siege of Maestricht, where the gallant Sir Edward

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[1] See a copy of "The opinion and testimony of the Lord Viscount Wimbledon, which hath been demanded of him, how fitt it is, and how the custome hath been in the Netherlands, for his Ma^{ties} Agents or Residents to take their places and precedence in the Hagh, or any other place in these Countries, for the time that he hath lived here." Dated, "the $\frac{30}{20}$ August from Rotterdam, 1631," and signed, "Wimbledon."—*S. P. Holland.*

[2] He was also captain of a troop of horse, mention of which is made in Crosse's *History of the Netherlands*, in a list of the English troops in the States' service in 1626.

Harwood,[1] Lord Oxford,[2] Lieut.-Col. Proude,[3] Capt. Courtney,[4] and many other brave English officers were slain, it is recorded that "Viscount Wimbledon's company and nine others were sent for to assault the breach."[5]

At the very time that Wimbledon was preparing to leave Holland for ever, part of the States' army[6] was gaining a signal victory over a large fleet of the enemy which had attempted a descent on Zeeland. This water battle took place on September 7, near Tholen, where the Spaniards were caught in a trap, being ill acquainted with the tortuous navigation amongst the islands of Zeeland. The whole of their fleet was captured, and nearly 5,000 men taken prisoners.[7] Lord Vere, Lord Oxford, Lord Craven, and many gentlemen volunteers, shared in this splendid Dutch victory.[8] Whilst Holland was still ringing with this victory, news arrived of a great victory gained by Gustavus Adolphus and the Duke of Saxony over Tilly and the Imperialists near Leipzig. The whole of Protestant Europe awoke to new life on hearing of the latter brilliant success. The exiled King of Bohemia determined to leave his wife, his family, and his kind home of so many years, to join the army of the Swedish monarch, whom he rightly considered to be the only man in Europe likely to help him to recover his paternal inheritance. Frederick applied to Charles of England for leave to join Gustavus, and, as Charles had just permitted the Marquis of Hamilton to leave England with 7,000 British recruits to swell the ranks of the Swedish army, and had likewise despatched Sir Harry Vane on a mission to Gustavus offering him the alliance of Great Britain, if the Upper and Lower Palatinate were both restored to their rightful owner, he could not refuse his royal consent. So Frederick left his devoted wife and children for the battle-ground of Germany in hopes of once more setting foot in the Palatinate. He lived to have his dream realised in part, but only in part, for the Palatinate he revisited now was not the Palatinate that he had left a dozen years before. Fire and sword had done their deadly work, and even the stately pile at Heidelberg, where Frederick and his fair young wife had spent the happiest days of their young married life, had been ruthlessly destroyed.[1] This was bad enough, but worse was to come. For several wise and politic reasons the victorious Gustavus, who had driven the invader out of the Palatinate, delayed in giving back to Frederick the sovereignty over the reconquered electorate.[2] Fate decreed that it was never to be given back. On November 6, 1632, Gustavus met a hero's death on the field of Lutzen, and, before the month was over Frederick V.

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[1] A tablet, with a long inscription recounting his many services, was erected on the east wall of the Cloister Church at the Hague, to the memory of this brave officer, by two of his brother officers, Sir Henry Herbert and Sir Nicholas Byron, in 1636.

[2] Robert de Vere, 19th Earl of Oxford, the father of Aubrey de Vere, 20th and last earl.

[3] Lieut.-Col. of Pakenham's (late Lord Wimbledon's) regiment.

[4] Captain of Colonel Pakenham's own company.

[5] Hexham's *Journal of the Siege of Maestricht*, p. 29.

[6] The Prince of Orange had broken up his camp at Drunen the end of August, putting most of his horse and some companies of foot into the garrisons of Heusden, Bois-le-duc, and the Grave. The rest of the army he carried to Bergen-op-zoom. D. Carleton to Lord Dorchester, Aug. 31. —*S. P. Holland.*

[7] Davies' *Holland*, ii. p. 580.

[8] See a copy of Lord Vere's letter to Lord Dorchester, dated Sept. $\frac{4}{14}$, 1631. —*S. P. Holland*, and endorsed, "My Lord Vere's relation of the victorie of the Holanders against the Spaniards uppon the rivers of the Low Countreys."

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[1] If the fire at Heidelberg Castle was not the work of incendiaries, the Spanish garrison would hardly have stood with folded arms watching the ruin caused by the devouring element.—See Harte's *Gustavus Aldolphus*, ii. p. 110.

[2] Frederick, being a strict Calvinist, Gustavus hesitated to restore him to power until he gave guarantees for tolerating the Lutheran religion throughout his dominions.

died of grief, coupled with disease of long standing, at Maintz.[1]

On his return to England, Lord Wimbledon was obliged to sell some land, being very short of money, and, having two expensive houses to keep up, as well as four daughters to provide for, his expenses were great. Strange as it may seem, he had not yet received all the pay due for his services as commander of the expedition to Cadiz, although a warrant for payment of his claim had been issued by the Privy Council as far back as 1627. On November 1, Lord Wimbledon sold twelve messuages in the parishes of Wimbledon, Putney, and Roehampton, to Walter Lord Aston.[2]

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[1] On Nov. 29, 1632.

[2] *Patent Rolls.*—Licence to Edward Viscount Wimbledon to alienate land, *Primo die Novembris, An.* 7, *Car. I.*

CHAPTER VIII.

1632–1638.

Lord Wimbledon as a Privy Councillor and Councillor of War—His efforts to improve the English army—Resigns the command of his company in the Dutch service—Turns his attention to the Portsmouth fortifications—Want of funds in the Royal Treasury—Wimbledon's remonstrance—Results—Civilian obstruction at Portsmouth—Wimbledon's appeal to the King on behalf of the cavalry—A favourable response—Wimbledon entertains the King and Queen—Beneficial effects of Wimbledon's rule at Portsmouth—The King's debts—The humble petitions of the Lord Viscount Wimbledon—He contemplates a third marriage—The new Viscountess—A bold offer to the King—The Governor's curious letter to the Mayor of Portsmouth—The Mayor's petition—Wimbledon's letters from Portsmouth—Lady Wimbledon gives birth to a son—Taking Time by the forelock—Castles in the air—Death of the Hon. Algernon Cecil—The effectual humbling of a proud nature—Illness and death of Edward Cecil Viscount Wimbledon.

WITH the loss of his regiment, the life of Edward Cecil, as a soldier of fortune, came to an end; and it had ended in misfortune.

The last seven years of Lord Wimbledon's life were occupied with his duties as a member of the King's Privy Council and Council of War; also with his important command at Portsmouth.[1]

Soldiers seldom make good statesmen; and Lord Wimbledon was no exception to this rule. He had little or no turn for state-craft, and his presence at the Privy Council

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[1] At the time we write of, the governor of Portsmouth acted in the double capacity of commander of the troops and admiral of the port. See letters and directions from the Lords of the Admiralty to Lord Wimbledon, dated April 10, 1634, and July 30, 1637.—*S. P. Dom.*

Board carried little weight with it. Yet, for all this, his soldiery qualities rendered him a useful committee man, and he could be thoroughly depended on for carrying out any work entrusted to him. This accounts for his being included in so many of the royal commissions which were of such a varied character, relating as they did to affairs connected with the Church,[1] the Law,[2] and the State.[3]

As a Councillor of War, Wimbledon showed himself in his best light. For the last twelve years of his life he took a prominent part in all military councils, and his name figures in all the military commissions issued by the King. We have already seen how Lord Wimbledon was instrumental in reviving the old English march which had fallen into disuse;[4] and many other military reforms at this time were due to the same lord's exertions. He was one of the most prominent members of the Council of War, and we find that the meetings of this Council were often held at Cecil House in London and at Wimbledon Manor House.[5] To this Council belonged the fiery Earl of Dorset, the chivalrous Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the veteran commander Lord Vere, Master-General of the

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[1] Lord Wimbledon was named in the royal commission for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, April 10, 1631.—*S. P. Dom.* And in the commission to Exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction within England and Wales, Dec. 17, 1633.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] In November, 1631, a commission was granted to the Lord High Constable, the Earl Marshal, and nine lords assistant (one of whom was Lord Wimbledon), to hold a Marshals' Court for the trial of the difference betwixt Donald Mackay, Lord Reay, and Mr. David Ramsey.—See account of this trial in *Court and Times*, ii. p. 145.

[3] In May, 1633, Lord Wimbledon was named in the commission for appointing a provost-marshal with power to apprehend and punish raisers of tumults and other rebellious persons.—*S. P. Dom.*

[4] See Chapter VIII., Vol. I.

[5] On three occasions in 1631, the Council of War met at Lord Wimbledon's residence, viz., on Feb. 12, at Cecil House, London, and on April 19 and 21 at Wimbledon Manor House.—See *S. P. Dom* under these dates.

Ordnance, and some members of the Privy Council who knew more of state-craft than soldier-craft. As a member of the House of Commons in the former reign, Wimbledon had been a strenuous supporter of a Bill to improve the small arms of the kingdom and make them more serviceable. He had never lost sight of this real object, and was present at the Privy Council Board when a deputation from the armourers of London appeared before the Board,[1] to petition that all arms brought from beyond the seas should be marked, and that the London Train bands, and any soldiers who might be levied for any particular service, might have good and serviceable arms given them.[2] The Privy Council referred the matter to the Council of War; and, consequently, Lord Wimbledon was now able to make an official report on a matter of such vital importance. The King's impecunious state made it a delicate matter to suggest any outlay of money, so Wimbledon ingeniously pointed out to his Majesty "the way in which Master Armourers and Gunmakers may be employed and relieved in this time of peace without charge to the Royal Treasury."[3] Any scheme for improving his army, or navy, was always acceptable to Charles, and particularly so when it was to be effected at a small cost Charles accordingly issued a commission to Edward Earl of Dorset, Henry Viscount Falkland, Edward Viscount Wimbledon, and Horace Lord Vere, authorising them to hold council together for the business of relieving the workmen, armourers, and gunmakers. On April 19, 1631, these four Councillors of War met at Wimbledon House,[4] and the outcome of their meeting was a letter to Attorney-General Heath, directing him to prepare a commission to certain armourers, pikemakers, gunmakers, &c., for making and repairing all the arms of the kingdom at the new rates fixed by the Lords Committee of the Council of War. These new rates were adhered to for many years after.[1]

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[1] On April 21, 1629.—*Council Register.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Suggestions by Edward Viscount Wimbledon, March, 1631.—*S. P. Dom.*

[4] See minutes of proceedings of Council of War held at Wimbledon House, April 19, 1631.—*S. P. Dom.*

In the spring of 1633, the Prince of Orange assembled a large force and marched to Rhineberg, which place he closely invested. This frontier stronghold, which had long been in possession of the Spaniards, surrendered early in June, after a short siege of three weeks. Lord Wimbledon's company was present at the taking of Rhineberg, and this was the last occasion on which it bore the name of its old commander, for, on June 13, Wimbledon resigned the command of this company, and his long connection with the Dutch army came to an end. On August 4, 1633, the Council of State at the Hague passed this resolution :—

> "On the certificate of His Excellency of the 13th June last, issued from the army at Rynberck, a commission is made out for Philip Graye as captain of the company of M. Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, who has placed the same in the hands of his Excellency." [2]

The old adage that "a new broom sweeps clean" was well exemplified in the case of the new governor of Portsmouth. No sooner was Wimbledon installed in command there, than he set himself the task of repairing and increasing the fortifications of this important garrison. He drew up plans of the new works to be erected, and sent for a surveyor[1] to make an estimate of the cost of these new defences, as well as the amount required for repairing the old. This done, Wimbledon hastened to ask the Privy Council for the money required to defray the cost of his improvements, and he also sent a certificate of the amount of timber required for repairs.[2] The result, as has already been stated, was a royal grant of money and timber. But not even a royal grant could produce money out of the exchequer when that exchequer was empty, and, consequently, an unavoidable delay took place before the work at Portsmouth could be commenced. Months rolled away and Portsmouth remained in its old neglected state. The governor and the score of soldiers garrisoning the citadel were paid irregularly, and these payments were few and far between.[3] Captain Brett, the deputy-governor, sent a remonstrance to the Privy Council concerning the defenceless state of Portsmouth and requested a supply of brass ordnance.[4] Lord Wimbledon at last sent a remonstrance on the state of Portsmouth to the King, and suggested the levying of a tax all over the kingdom to defray the expense of putting all forts and castles into a thorough state of repair.

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[1] The rates of all descriptions of arms set down by Lord Wimbledon and his committee are given in Grose's *Military Antiquities*, ii. pp. 335–6.

[2] From a Dutch memorandum among the State Papers in the King's Library at the Hague, dated Thursday, August 4, 1633.

Lord Wimbledon must have sent his resignation of the company by letter, as there is no record of his going over to Holland in 1633. He was one of those Privy Councillors to whom the king granted a commission in May, 1633, empowering them to adopt means, in case of necessity, for appeasing tumults, &c., during his Majesty's absence in Scotland.

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[1] John Mansel was appointed surveyor of the works at Portsmouth, for which he received $1^s\ 4^d$ per diem. Warrant, March 10, 1631.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] See petition of the Mayor and garrison of Portsmouth to the Council, with certificate of the Governor annexed. Nov. 26, 1630.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] The *Receipt Books of the Exchequer* show two payments from 1630 to 1632 to Lord Wimbledon and the twenty soldiers under his command at Portsmouth. The first payment was at Easter, 1631, when he received 8½ months' pay due at Christmas, 1630, viz.: £128 13*s.*—his pay being 10*s.* a day. The twenty soldiers received their arrears of pay at same time, each soldier being paid at the rate of 8*d.* a day. The next payment to Lord Wimbledon was at Easter, 1632, when he received arrears of pay due from Christmas 1630 to Michaelmas 1631, viz.: £136 16*s.* 6*d.*

[4] *Privy Council Register*, Jan. 18, 1631–2.

> "The humble Remonstrance of the Lord Viscount Wimbledon to his most Sacred Ma^{tie} concerninge meanes (wthout his Ma^{ties} charge) for the Fortifieinge and repaireinge of Forts, Castles, and Blockhouses, for the Defence of this Kingdome and especially Portsmouth.

"MAY IT PLEASE YO^{r} MA^{tie},

"Whereas your Ma^{tie} out of yo^{r} great wisdome and poloticke care, hath allready put yo^{r} whole Royall Navie in perfect order and readynes for service, and specially for the defence of yo^{r} Kingdome, and yo^{r} antient Comaund of the narrow Seas, by buildinge & repaireinge yo^{r} Royall shippes; And not that onlie, but hath caused all the Marchantes shipps to bee built of a farr greater burthen then ever they were before in this Kingdome, by allowinge them a proporcon of money to incorage them to doe it. And this hath not only bine reported to yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, and undertaken by yo^{r} diligent great Officeres to bee done, but for the more securitie, in a service of that importance, yo^{r} Ma^{tie} hath not bine contented to have yo^{r} eares to be informed, but yo^{r} gratious eyes, as a true observer, and overseer, of yo^{r} owne will & direccons, wth soe much care and paines, performed it in person some three yeares since, soe that if yo^{r} Ma^{tie} have had this infinite care for yo^{r} Navie, w^{ch} are the true outworkes and Ravelines that defend yo^{r} Kingdome, and upon yo^{r} owne charge, when your Thresure was most exhausted, I humblie beseech yo^{r} Ma^{tie} to second such noble and brave outworkes, wth consideringe the Bullworkes, Bastions and Rampiers of yo^{r} Kingdome, for outworkes are of noe effect wthout stronge Bullworks, Bastions, and Rampiers likewise. And if I be not much deceaved, yo^{r} Ma^{tie} may performe this necessary worke farr more easie and wth less charge then you have done yo^{r} former, by many degrees, otherwise I had not presumed at this tyme, to have trobled yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Royall eyes and eares wth this Remonstrance. For it is, and ever hath bine, a common Nationary Lawe, and Custome, that the common defence, safety, and securitie of a People and Kingdome, ought in all reason, and consience, to bee maynteyned by the common charge of the People, wth as much reason, if not more, then to have layed upon particulers, as hath bine accustomed, and as the lawes and wisdome of this Kingdome hath peremtorilie sett downe and decreed it, w^{ch} is that it shalbee lawfull for yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, when and where it shall please you, to fortifie upon any man's Inheritance whatsoever, for the comon defence of the Kingdome, w^{ch} if it be true that particulers in their Inheritance doe beare this burthen, noe doubt the lawe would find it more iust and reasonable in point of State, that the Common defence should be borne by a comon charge; And for example of this particuler, yo^{r} Ma^{tie} cannot have a better example, then in the tyme of Queene Eliza: of famous memory, yo^{r} Ma^{ties} predecessor, not in the tyme of warr, but in the tyme of a generall peace wth all the World, as yo^{r} Ma^{tie} hath at this tyme (God be thanked for it), did fortifie Portsmouth upon the freehold Inheritance of her perticuler Subiects. Therefore I cann see noe reson why yo^{r} Ma^{tie} should not lay a generall charge over all the Kingdome, by some meanes, for the fortifieinge and repaireinge all such places as shall be thought fitt by yo^{r} Ma^{tes} Counsill of State and Warr, as well as it is lawfull for you to fortifie upon any manns Inheritance, w^{ch} granted, then I beseech yo^{r} Ma^{tie} give me leave to saie that there is noe place in yo^{r} Kingdome that deserveth more charge to be bestowed upon it then Portsmouth doth, for the defence, safetie, and securitie of this Kingdome, for that it is such a place, in regard of the scituation, of such importance, both that it is scituated in the midle part of the most dangerous Coastes of this Kingdome, that Frontiere as it were upon three of the greatest States and Dominions of all Europe, that is the Low Countries, France, and Spaine, and is soe scituated, as it is equally ready to answere all Allarumes, and occasions, both to the west and east of those dominions, and may be made a place as stronge, if not stronger, then ever Ostend or Rochell was, wth a small charge, not worth the nameinge in regard of the consequence. And it hath, besides the scituation of it self, the Isle of Wight, w^{ch} the other had not, for his out workes, that upon all wind [s] it may be releaved, either from thence, or from any other Coasts of the Kingdome, wth small Boats, though it were Blocked upp wth a fleet of greate shipps. As for example in the releevinge of the Isle of Rees was demonstrated; and the same reason that the place may be releeved from others, soe may this requitt others by releeveinge them. And further, it standeth in an Island where yo^{r} Ma^{tie} may quarter an Army of 40,000 [4,000] men and victual it self, and yet may draw out any troopes you shall please to imploy any where else, and to lodge them most convenient, and the whole Island locked upp wth a small Fort, and safe from any attempt whatsoever; the whole Island, beinge inviorned by mooreasses or bogges round about, that shall need no trench, the like advantage I never knew to be in any place. And when yo^{r} Ma^{tie} shall have any occasions to be in yo^{r} Armie yo^{r} self, there is no Prince that hath a safer and stronger retraite then that will bee, wthout much arte or cost. Then it is a place to hold good, when all the country should be possessed wth an Enimye, witness Ostend and Rochell. If these reasons where not sufficient, then lett the [se] Consideracons make upp all the rest, that is (as is best knowne to yo^{r} Ma^{tie}) Portsmouth Haven is one of the largest and best Havens of this Kingdome, if not of the World, for that it is capable of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} whole Navie, where there lyeth a great part at this p^{r}sent. And besides many other Comodities; besides the mouth of the Haven may be chayned upp from all danger, and well guarded, if the Round Tower there were well p^{r}pared and fortified, w^{ch} will aske noe great charge; soe that there wanteth noe reason to prove that Portsmouth should not be thought on before any place whatsoever. And rather at this tyme, that yo^{r} Ma^{tie} hath a generall peace, for it is the season to provide for warr, accordinge to [the] Proverb that sayeth that, 'wise men carryeth theire cloakes in faire weather, and those that are not they carry them in fowle wether.' For Warr is as uncertaine as the weather is, And yo Ma^{tie} shall not onlie by providinge be ready for Warr, but the likelier to continue in peace. And as this hath bine a maxime in all ages, soe there is noe tyme that requireth it more then in these daies, when knowledge and intentions are of more power then they have bine hithertofore, to overrunn countries in a yeare or two, that heretofore have bine many hundred yeares in conqueringe. These consideracons, as I take it, was the motive that made Queene Elizabeth first to fortifie Portsmouth, when the tymes were not soe dangerous as they are now, or may be, nor yo^{r} Neibours growne soe mightie as they are, and when her Thresure was at the lowest. Therefore I hope yo^{r}

Ma^{tie} will be as well pleased to repaire Portsmouth as shee was to build it, and fortifie it anew; for as it is, it is less stronge then when it was not fortified, for not beinge fortified at all an Enimye cannot fortifie it but with a great deal more tyme then he cann assure himselfe of, but as it is now he may surprise it in a night with a Pettar or otherwise, and beinge repaired may defend it against any wth ease; and such a place allready fortified, and soe stronge by scituation, will tempt an Enimie to break a peace, if it were for nothing else; for noe Poloticke Enimie will break a peace wthout first possessinge himself of such an advantage. Now I have had the bouldnes to show yo^{r} Ma the reasons how necessary it is to fortifie Portsmouth (wthout any great charge) more then any other place, I thinke it is not amisse to propound how soe good and necessary a worke may be performed wthout the loss of more tyme and wth the least charge to yo^{r} Ma^{tie}; for it is held a rule in our profession, that he is the best Souldier that doth his worke well and best cheape, and the hope of performinge that hath bine the chiefe cause to present to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} a way how you may repaire all yo^{r} Castles and Forts through England, or at least all those that shall be thought necessary, by a Judgment of Custome in the 13th yeare of Henry the 4th, that the King may charge his people of this Kingdome wthout the especiall assent of the Commons, to any thinge that may bee for the profitt of the Common people, w^{ch} I take it may be done by lawe, and yo^{r} Ma^{tes} prerogative, as is showne, for otherwise there is noe hope that such a worke can be performed this way, lett it be never soe necessary, for people are of such an humour, now adaie, that they will rather perish then be molested or perswaded; usinge a comon defence, wth sayinge, what Lawe is there for it? The waie by Lawe, and yo^{r} Ma^{ties} prerogative that I meane, is, by Toles all over the Kingdome or in any place that shall be thought fittest, and most convenient, for soe good, great, and necessary worke. And as this money must come out of the Peoples purses, soe it will concerne all, and the defence of all; for it may be upon horses, Coaches, and Cartes, and Boats, w^{ch} is soe much the better, that it will not touch upon the poorer sort. This Remonstrance I have prepounded out of my dutie, affeccon, and profession for yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, to putt me in trust wth. Therefore I hope yo^{r} Ma^{tie} will not onlie pardon my bouldnes, but take it into yo^r more grave Consideracon, and accept my devotion as from him that prayeth for yo^r Ma^{tes} happynes as for his owne life."[1]

This remonstrance produced the desired effect. About a quarter of the original sum granted for repairs at Portsmouth was paid to the Governor, and the King himself wrote to the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, desiring them to give orders for the delivery of two hundred additional tons of timber required by Lord Wimbledon for perfecting the Portsmouth fortifications.[2] The small garrison of twenty soldiers was increased sevenfold, viz.: one master gunner, at 10*d. per diem*; 15 gunners, each at 8*d. per diem*; 14 gunners, each at 6*d.*; 1 ensign, 1 armourer, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, 1 fife, and 100 soldiers, each at 8*d.*[3] It was further ordered that the soldiers were to be paid quarterly, "during his Majesty's pleasure."[4] On February 7, 1635, the Privy Council issued a warrant for 300 corslets to be delivered to Lord Wimbledon, or his deputy-governor, at Portsmouth;[5] and steps were taken to send a sufficient quantity of ordnance and ammunition there.[6] All these steps were improvements in the right direction. Had it not been for Wimbledon's persistent importunity, Portsmouth would have remained in the defenceless state in which he found it. His plans for new works met with but little encouragement from the Mayor and Corporation of the town, who thought more of the little gardens of some of the citizens [1]—that bordered on the old fortifications, and were threatened with destruction by the intended new works—than of strong bulwarks to protect their town and harbour. And the Naval authorities opposed the demolition of two old rickety storehouses which prevented the soldiers walking the rounds of the walls, and petitioned the Lords of the Admiralty, to whom these old houses belonged, to prevent their demolition.[2] After much correspondence on the subject the Lords of the Admiralty referred the matter to a competent engineer at Portsmouth, who recommended the pulling down of the houses,[3] which eventually was done. Another important matter had to be brought before the Privy Council on account of the mayor's obstruction. This was the rebuilding of a new sentinel house at the top of the town watch-tower, where a sentry was always on duty to keep a look-out over the harbour. When the new governor came to Portsmouth he found the sentinel house in a very dilapidated state, and the unfortunate sentry was exposed to the severity of the weather. The mayor was desired to rebuild this sentinel house at the cost of the town, but he evidently had neglected to do so, as we find the Privy Council writing on March 20, 1635, to the mayor, sharply reprehending him for not building "a new centinel house at the top of the steeple, the centinell having to stand there 24 hours, and being exposed to the severity of all weathers."[1] A few months after this, £1,000 of the money granted four years before for repairs at Portsmouth was paid to Lord Wimbledon,[2] leaving the large sum of £1,882 still owing.[3]

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[1] In a clerk's hand, undated and unsigned.
End. "A remonstrance
for the repaire of Forts
and Castells."
—*S. P. Dom.* Chas. I. 376, No. 66.

[2] The King to the Earl of Portland and Lord Cottington, Dec.? 1634.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] Treasury warrant, dated May 25, 1635, to Lord Wimbledon for pay of the garrison at Portsmouth.—*Pells Order Books*, 1635.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Council Register.*

[6] As far back as June 25, 1632, we find a written statement by Francis Morice, clerk of the Ordnance, of the ordnance required by Lord Wimbledon for the fortifications at Portsmouth.—*S. P. Dom.*

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[1] See petition of the Mayor and Aldermen of Portsmouth to the Privy Council, June 28, 1632.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] See answer from the Lords of the Admiralty, Nov. 15, 1634.—*S. P. Dom.*

[3] Thomas Heath to Lords of Admiralty, Feb. 23, 1635.—*S. P. Dom.*

Portsmouth was not the only fortified place Lord Wimbledon benefited by his military experience. In June, 1632, he, together with Lords Herbert and Valentia, received a commission to draw up fit instructions for all commanders of garrisons and forts in the United Kingdom.[4] He likewise received several commissions from the King to inquire into the state of the Ordnance and survey the ordnance arms, and ammunition of that department.[5] Having given the Ordnance Department a push in the right direction, Wimbledon turned his attention to the cavalry—a branch of the army at that time almost completely neglected. He had already introduced an improved military saddle into England;[6] but that was not of much use when there were but few cavalry soldiers to use it. Accordingly Lord Wimbledon wrote a treatise entitled, "Lord Viscount Wimbledon's Demonstration of divers Parts of War, especially of Cavallerye," and presented the manuscript to the King to whom it is dedicated, or rather addressed, throughout.

The following extract is a good sample of the style of the whole work:—

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[1] *Council Register.*

[2] July 30, 1635.—*Pells Order Books.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Proceedings of the committee of the Council of War, June 27.—*S. P. Dom.*

[5] Commissions to Lord Wimbledon, dated May 17, 1633, and Feb. ? 1635.—*S. P. Dom.*

[6] Minute of proceedings of the Council of War. Gunmakers required to bring a pattern of the bastard musket used by Sir Francis Vere, and saddlers a saddle of the pattern brought by Lord Wimbledon. March 10, 1628.—*S. P. Dom.*

"THE DEMONSTRANCE OF CAVALLERYE.

BY

LORD WIMBLEDON.

"Herein I first propound that cheape waye of Henry the fourth of France, who in time of Peace tooke good care to breede up Soldiours, and that was this—

"Whensoever any of the Princes, Nobillity, or Gentry, desired to kiss his hand, hee would tell them they should have bin much more welcome to him if they had seene the face of the Prince of Orange (meaninge the Warres by it), and that at their returne if any Militarie government or place of Command fell, none but such as bredd themselves Souldiours should bee preferred to them. By this meanes (which was but the spending of three or four wordes) hee made the Lowe Countreyes swarme everie yeare for three or four months with his Princes, his Nobillity and his Gentry, who at their returning home, made his Court and Kingdome flourish wth store of brave and worthy Subiects. This device of his hath made the French Gentry and Nobillity to bee glorious among all Nations—yea, and hath enabled a young King and a Churchman (who otherwise had no great experience at the first) to perform so many great actions. Would your Maiestye now bee pleased but to countenance Armes and the professors of it, and graciously to express yo self in that kind, there is no King in the World that should sooner bee obeyed. No People bee more desirous to doe anything which they iudge their King will take a likeing of then the English; nor had the Kingdome ever so brave a stoare and spring of younge Gentry and Nobillity as at this present. Enow of these would fall in love with Armes, would yo Majesty but be pleased to recommend the Service of Horse unto all such young Gentlemen as come to kiss yo hands before they go into the Lowe Countreyes, and to know the reason why so many make choice to serve among the foote, notwithstanding the greatest and the bravest Actiones are atchieved by those on horse-backe. The answer would bee:—'For that there is more preferment to bee had among the foote Companies and that by reason there bee fewer horse Companies.' But they consider not withall that there bee so many thousands of Foote (for skoors of horses) that live most misserably and dye unpreferred, still living in hope and never attayning to it. Of these is the Italian Proverb verified :—‘ They that live by hope shall dye in an Hospitall.’

“ In the second place, it would verie much advantage the designe intended would your Maiestye but signify your pleasure by your Agent in the Lowe Countreyes, that you would take it well if the English Captains of horse there would entertaine all Englishmen into their Companies, as it heretofore was the Custome of their predecessors. And to speake merryly by yo Ma^{ties} favour, it seemeth not a little strange to me that o^{r} Nation (against all reason) should affect the serving on foote so much, and on horsebacke so little. Notwithstanding wee bee born under St. George on horse-backe, who is the Saint of all Cavalleria, for whereas the Saints of all other Nationes hold by the Infanteria and goe on foote, yet are they more confident in Cavallery which is cleane contrary. May it not appear dotage in o^{r} countrymen that when they may ride on horseback upon equal termes doe yet choose to goe on foote. Nay more, that they choose to dye in a ditch rather than serve among the horsemen, among whome they can want nothing, no nor feele the missery of a footeman, till by loosing his horse hee bee enforced to become one of them. Truely, if I understood of any of my Countrymen that affected a state of life for Mortification I would commend him to serve on foote.

“ This makes me remember the saying of a young Gentleman, whome in a morning after a rayny night I asked how his Cabbin held out water. Not so well (saith hee) as my Father’s Hoggstye. But this missery is interpreted for an honnor unto a Gentleman of meanes, and but a voluntary hardship which he endureth for his Courage sake ; whereas to a Common Soldiour it is a true misery, seeing hee neither lives nor dyes in any better condition. This difference between a horseman and a footeman no man (if I may bee believed) can trulyer iudg of then myself, who have equally professed both of them. But some there may bee, notwithstanding, that will hugg their owne erronious humours, though they suffer for it.

“ And this humorousness of our Nation hath turned all the English troopes of horse in the Netherlands to bee filled with Dutches, a thing not used in my time, when I first rodd at the nead of my Company; no, nor in the time of that brave Captaine S^r^ Nicholas Parker, my Predecessor, who delivered up his Company unto me, for this was so brave a troope of horse and so officer'd as I never saw a gallanter. Brave Englishmen they were, all of them, who had so longe served in the Warres, as the worst of them was able to have Commanded the Company. But having spent these in the battell of Nieuport, partly, and partly in other Services, I was enforced for want of English to recreut them, and to make up my Company with Dutches. But these gave mee so little content that I willingly gave up my Company of horse and turned Troope-man, for about this time had the humor of serving among the foote so generally prevailed w^th^ our Nation that from sixteen hundred they increased to nyne or ten thousands. But by this may your Majesty perceive plainely, that would but the English affect the Cavallery there is no one Nation would bring more honor to it. The reason is because that naturally they are so Courageous, and for that there is no part of the Warres that require so much Courage as this doth, and especially in the Officers, w^ch^ when they bee valiant and couragious, their Example is wonderfully effectuall to their Companies. Upon these considerations I humbly beseech your Majestye to give Directions and Encouragements to your Subiects, in the Lowe Countreys to betake themselves unto the Cavallery, more then they have done lately.

" The next means for raysing of a Cavalleria in this Kingdome is for your Maiestye to recommend the brave Exercise of Horsemanship unto the two Universities (which, to say the troath), are the true Nursereyes of good breeding to the young Nobillity and Gentry of your Kingdome for learning. This is a practize of other Nationes, which (besides the examples) would also doo this Creditt unto the Universities, that it would both drawe and continue the young Nobillity and Gentry to them, seeing they need not then bee enforced to goo into other Countreys for to learne this dexterity; which in the University they might practize for their Exercize without forgoing the meanes of their other Learning.

" Besides, who maie better doo it then the Universitys which are ordained for the learning of all manner of Virtue. Perhappes, too, were this exercise there sett up, many others would bee moved to become Benefactors to them."[1]

The King not only accepted Lord Wimbledon's manuscript book, but took his advice about recommending "the service of horse" to his subjects.

"About a fortnight since," wrote the Rev^d G. Garrard, on June 24, 1635, to Viscount Wentworth, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland," the King came to the Council, and then he signified his pleasure that he would take an especial care that the Horse of this Kingdom should be more looked after than they had been lately. He [said he] would begin at home with his own servants first. He had appointed the Captain of the Pensioners to take care that everyone of the Band kept good and able horses fit for service. Now he came to his Councillors and invited them to offer. The Secretaries [of State] began, who are to keep constantly two apiece. The Treasurer, Comptroller, and Vice Chamberlain, being cavaliers, offered four apiece. My Lord Cottington six; Viscount Wimbledon eight; my Lord of Holland twelve; the Archbishop of Canterbury eight; the rest of the Earls, Councillors, ten apiece. And I believe they will call on all the nobility of England to do somewhat more or less in this business. The Proposition is well liked by all, it being for the honour and strength of the Kingdom."[2]

Charles I. seems always to have been very favourably disposed to Lord Wimbledon, and to have inclined a favourable ear to any scheme promulgated by him for the good of the army. Wimbledon had frequent opportunities of imparting his plans for reorganisation of the several branches of the service to his Majesty, as they often met at the Privy Council Board; and besides this, his Majesty was, on several occasions, entertained by Lord Wimbledon. One of Lord Wentworth's London correspondents mentions two separate occasions on which the King, Queen Henrietta Maria, and the little Prince Charles, honoured Lord Wimbledon with their presence at his house in the Strand. The first occasion was in April, 1634, when the Earls of Danby and Morton,[1] the two newly elected Knights of the Garter, rode in great state through London to Windsor, "the King, Queen, and Prince, dining that day at my Lord Wimbledon's, and taking up their stand in his balcony."[2] The second occasion was in May, 1635, when the Earl of Northumberland,[3] who had been made a Knight of the Garter, rode in state through London, on his way to Windsor to be installed. The following account of the pageant was sent to Lord Wentworth:—

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[1] *Royal MSS.* 18, C. xxiii. fo. 74, *et seq.*

[2] *The Strafford Letters*, i. p. 434.

"My Lord of Northumberland was installed the 13 of the month at Windsor. Never subject of this Kingdom rode better attended from his house than he did, nor performed the business more nobly or more sumptuously. The King, Queen and Prince stood at my Lord Wimbledon's in the Strand. Thirteen earls and a marquis rode with him, besides almost all the young nobility and many barons. I must not forget my Lord Cottington, who was very rich in jewels and his feather, but in the Spanish way; and a competent number of the gentry, near an hundred horse in all, besides his servants, who were fifty, costly and bravely clothed, beyond any that hath been seen before. Four pages, all earls' sons, two of my Lord Chamberlain's,[4] one of my Lord Salisbury's, and the fourth my Lord of Leicester's. Two footmen, two brave coaches, with four in livery to drive them. My Lord Clanrickard, his son and my Lord Dunluce[5] were of our company, but not one of the

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[1] William, 8th Earl of Morton, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. He suffered much in the Royal cause during the Civil Wars, and died 1648.

[2] Garrard to Wentworth, May 1, 1634.—*Strafford Letters*, i. p. 242.

[3] Algernon Percy, 10th Earl. He espoused the side of the Parliament in the Civil Wars, and died 1668.

[4] The Earl of Lindsey was Lord Chamberlain at this time.

[5] Eldest son of the Earl of Antrim. He succeeded as 2nd Earl, and was created Marquis of Antrim in 1644 and died 1682.

Scottish nation, which was the more observed because many of our English did the last year that honour unto my Lord Morton.[1]

There was one thing which Charles was often not able to give even to his best friends. This was money. He could not even pay the soldiers, who garrisoned his towns and forts, regularly,[2] much less could he pay long standing debts contracted in bygone years. At all times pinched for money himself, there was but little he had to distribute to the many applicants who clamoured for it. It is only fair to say he gave all he could. Never was the line—

"I give thee all, I can no more,"

more applicable to any honest bankrupt than it was to Charles I. Men of property like Lord Wimbledon could afford, however inconvenient it might be, to wait for their pay. But there were many who could not, and amongst this latter greater number were the poor soldiers at Portsmouth. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that some of them eked out a precarious livelihood by exercising the callings of alehouse-keepers, tailors, and carpenters. This was against orders, but was probably winked at by the officers during the governor's absence, as it tended to keep the soldiers from clamouring for the pay which the officers had not the power to procure. The days were fast approaching when the money spent on the Portsmouth fortifications, and the £1,500 per annum to the little garrison there, would bear good interest, and the foresight of Lord Wimbledon in making Portsmouth one of the strongest royal garrisons would be appreciated by the King, when sore pressed by his enemies and not knowing where to turn for safety.[1] In the meantime Wimbledon got no credit for the strong works he had raised at Portsmouth, and we find that able man, Sir Kenelm Digby speaking sneeringly of him and styling him "that provident governor of towns."[2] It is more than doubtful if Digby, the philosopher and scholar, would have served his Majesty as zealously as Cecil the soldier, if he had lost as much in that service as the Governor of Portsmouth had done, as we shall presently see. It will be remembered that in 1627 the Privy Council issued a warrant for the payment of £3,344 to Lord Wimbledon, due to him for his arrears of pay whilst in the King's service. That warrant, like many others of the same kind, received no attention at the hands of the Lord Treasurer, or the Chancellor of the Exchequer. To get money from these sorely pressed servants of his Majesty's, was as hard and impossible a task as "taking the breeks off a Highlander," for they, like the ideal Scotchman, were destitute of what was demanded from them. A favoured few were at times able to cash the privy seals which his Britannic Majesty generously distributed to his creditors. But many of these same privy seals became dormant and required the most strenuous exertions on the part of the recipients to bring them to life again. Large arrears of pay were due to many of the officers who had taken part in the Cadiz, Rhé, and Rochelle expeditions; and they, in common with the executors and relatives of deceased officers, clamoured for the settlement of their just claims. In the summer of 1632, Lord Wimbledon once more brought his case before the Privy Council, and they issued a warrant to the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, praying and requiring them to pay the sum of £1,265 to Lord Wimbledon.[1] This warrant met with better luck than the last, and Wimbledon's claims were reduced to £2,079. Like all needy people, be they kings or private individuals, Charles used often to anticipate the receipts of his revenue and give orders to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to pay certain sums out of prospective income. We find in a list of payments to be made out of anticipated receipts of his Majesty's revenue in 1633, the sum of £600 to be paid to Lord Wimbledon.[2] This amount was also paid in due course, and Wimbledon's claim was reduced to £1,479. In a list of officers to whom arrears of pay were due on June 1, 1633, we find the names of many who served in the Cadiz Expedition.[1] Many of the names are noted as those of deceased officers whose representatives claimed the pay. The arrears amounted altogether to £9,737 9*s.* 10*d.*[2] In the following year we find Lord Wimbledon, and a special committee of the Council of War, hard at work examining Lord Valentia's accounts as Master of the Ordnance in the Cadiz voyage, and settling the amount due for this nobleman's services.[3] Another year passed away and Wimbledon saw himself no nearer the payment of his claim. For a weighty domestic reason it was of great consequence to him to get hold of all the money due to him, so he followed the example of many others and petitioned the king as a last resource.

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[1] Garrard to Wentworth, May 19, 1635.—*Strafford Letters*, i. p. 427.

[2] The following warrants for payment of the garrison of Portsmouth show how greatly in arrear these payments were :—

On July 29, 1635, half a year's pay to the garrison at Portsmouth, due at Midsummer, 1634.

By order, March 8, 1636, half a year's pay to the same, due at Christmas, 1634.

By order, May 25, 1636, half a year's pay to the same, due at Midsummer, 1635.

On Dec. 8, 1637, half a year's pay to the same, due at Midsummer, 1636.

On Feb. 20, 1638, half a year's pay, due Christmas, 1636.

On June 7, 1638, half a year's pay, due Midsummer, 1637.

On Jan. 19, 1640, a privy seal was granted to Sir Christopher Wray, Knt. executor to Lord Wimbledon, for £825 12*s.* 8*d.* for half a year's pay to garrison at Portsmouth.—*Auditor's Privy Seals.*

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[1] When the Civil Wars broke out, Portsmouth was held for the King by Colonel Goring, who had succeeded Wimbledon in the command, and at one time it is said the King and Queen thought of taking refuge there.

[2] Digby to Conway, Jan. 21, 1637.—*S. P. Dom.*

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[1] "At Whytehall, 22th of June, 1632.

"An order for the paym^{t}
of 1265^{li} unto the
Lo. V. Wimbledon."

"It was this day ordered that the Lo. Tresr. and the Lo. Cottington, Chanc. of the Excheq^{r}, should be hereby prayed and required to give effectuall order for the issuing of the some of twelve hundred threescore and five pounds out of his Ma^{ties} Excheq^{r}, unto Capt. John Mason, Tresr. and Paym^{r} of his Ma^{ties} late Armye, for the paym^{t} of pte of the Arreares due to the Lo. V. Wimbledon, for his Entertaynem^{t} in his Voyage to Cadiz. The said some of twelve hundred threescore and five pounds to be issued by Virtue of the Privie Seale Dormant, Dated the second of July, 1629, for the paym^{t} of officers and souldiers. For wch this shalbe unto theire Lopps. a sufficient warrant.

Signed.

"Lo. Privie Seale "Lo. Bp. of London.
"Lo. Chamblaine "M^{r} V. Chamblaine.
"Ea. of Kelley "M^{r} Secre. Coke."

Council Register.

[2] See list of prospective payments, April 4, 1633.—*S. P. Dom.*

"TO THE KING'S MOST SACRED MA^{tie}.

"The humble peticon of the Lord Viscount Wimbledon.[4]

"MAIE IT PLEASE YO^{r} MA^{tie}.

"I have forborne peticoninge yo^{r} Ma^{tie} until now (in regard of yo^{r} manie occasions that I did imagine yo^{r} Ma^{tie} hath had to imploy yo^{r} moneys) though to the p^{r}judice of my fortune, that is not great, for by reason of my chargeable services heretofore performed, both to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} & yo^{r} Gratious Father to me, I have bine forced to sell some of my Patrimonie, to accomodate my selfe, [with] part of w^{ch} moneys I bought a Lease of my Lord of Salsbury, the rest I have layed out in yo^{r} Ma^{tes} service, for the w^{ch} I doe here peticon yo^{r} Ma^{tie} for, w^{ch} is for the arrere of my paie and for the extraordinarie charge w^{ch} is allwaies allowed to Ambassado^{rs} & Generalls for their extraordinaryes, and as I my self was allowed, w^{ch} the account of the Exchequer can wittnes, soe likewise for 7 yeares unpaied of the silke Farme, my Partners of that Lease haveinge bine well paid, but not my self, to my great grief & wrong, the perticulars somes whereof are heare annexed. Wherefore in most humble manner, as yo^{r} Ma^{tie} is a most gratious and just Prince to all, soe I hope will be to me, of w^{ch} I doe nothinge doubt, for I did never offend yo^{r} Ma^{tie} in all my life, and I hope in God never shall, neither have I neglected anie tyme yo^{r} Ma^{tes} service, when my health would permitt me, neither have I bine an unprofitable servant to yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, for it was my indeavour onlie that p^{r}sented my noble Lo. Duke wth the designe of the extorted fees, to p^{r}sent yo^{r} Ma^{tie} withall, and have this 4 or 5 yeares followed it, wth yo^{r} Ma^{tes} other Commissioners, to that perfection that yo^{r} Ma^{tes} coffers hath already received good profitt from it, and maie receave manie thousands more, if it be well followed, besides the good it maie bringe to yo^{r} subjects, that groane under the burthen of extortion, but this I doe not bringe in to have anie recompence, for that all the service I am able to performe is but my dutie; but I humblie beseech yo^{r} Ma^{tie} that though I looke for noe recompence, soe I looke for noe punishment, for when one is paied in the same kind and an other not paied, it is punishment both to reputacon and fortune.

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[1] See a list of arrears due to officers for services in the Cadiz, Rhé, and Rochelle expeditions, June 1, 1633.—*S. P. Dom.* In this list Lord Wimbledon is put down at "£665 12*s.*" The remaining eight hundred and odd pounds claimed by him for "extraordinariés" being omitted in this list.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] The sum of £973 2*s.* 10*d.* was found to be due to Lord Valentia. See proceedings of the Council of War, May 7, 1634.—*S. P. Dom.*

[4] This petition, which is in a clerk's hand, is unsigned and undated. It has been calendared under the year 1634 in *S. P. Dom,* 280, No. 78, but I think it must have been written early in 1635.

"Therefore in most humble manner, I hope yo^{r} Ma^{tie} out of yo^{r} gratious favour & Justice, will not lett my modesty, that hath never peticoned yo^{r} Ma^{tie} before, suffer soe manie yeares as I have done without solisitation of so just a debt, that is as I take it soe reasonable and soe consionable. And soe in all duty, wth my prayers fo^{r} yo^{r} Ma^{ties} long & happy daies, I heare in all duty attend yo^{r} Ma^{tes} pleasure.

"What I have receaved and what I ought to receave from the Silke farme accountinge from the yeare 1624 :—

		li
"Monies that I have receaved.	"Receaved of Mr. Williams, the paymaster of the customes, at Midsomer in the year 1624, for half a year . .	250
	"Receaved out of the Exchequer for Christmas in the year 1624 . .	250
	"Receaved out of the Exchequer for Midsomer and Christmas, 1625 .	500
	"For 9 yeares after I receaved but 2 yeares, w^{ch} was by the handes of S^{r} Abraham Dawes, by order from my Lord of Portland	1,000
"What I ought to receave	"Soe that I am behinde of my Lease of the Silke farme	3,000
	"And for the arreare of my pay . . .	665
	"For the Extraordinaryes of the same jurney	800
	"w^{ch} in all is	li. 4,465."

The above petition not producing the desired effect, the petitioner followed it up with another :—

"To his most Sacred Ma^{tie}
"The humble petition of the Lord
"Viscount Wimbledon.

"SHEWETH

"Whereas there are 4300 li. due from yo^{r} Ma^{tie} unto yo^{r} petitioner, w^{ch} have bine alreadie audited; that since yo^{r} coffers are not so full at this time as I hope they will be, it may please yo^{r} Ma^{tie} out of yo^{r} gratious favour (as you have done by others in like kinde) if he shall find out some Revenue of Land that shall not any waie lessen yo^{r} Ma^{ts} Revenue, that yo^{r} Ma^{tie} would be gratiouslie pleased he may have such a Graunt thereof as may satisfie so much of the foresaid debte, that yo^{r} Petitioner and Servant may be the better enabled wth his best fortune to p'forme all service. And that yo^{r} Ma^{tie} will be pleased to cause a Reference to be made to the Lord Thser [Treasurer] of England and the Lord Cottington, yo^{r} Ma^{ts} Chancellor of the Exchequer, that if then, their Lo^{ps} shall thinck this fitt and convenient to be done, that then it would please yo^{r} Ma^{tie} to graunt unto yo^{r} Petitioner a Privy Seal to passe soe much land, unsold, that may satisfie that debte due unto him.

"And he shall thinck himself most bound unto yo^{r} Ma^{tie}.

"And according to his Dutie to praie for yo^{r} Ma^{ts}

"Long and happy daies."[1]

The Exchequer records[2] contain no entry of any payment to Lord Wimbledon of the amount he claimed in the foregoing petitions; but the absence of any further petitions of his to the King would lead one to suppose that his claim was eventually paid. As a Privy Councillor, Wimbledon had numberless opportunities of reminding the King and the Privy Council of what was owing to him; and it would appear from the following note made by Nicholas, the Clerk of the Council, of the proceedings of the Council on December 9, 1635, that Wimbledon was able, with the assistance of the Council, to extract some money from Philip Burlamachi[3]—the Rothschild of the early part of the reign of Charles I.:—

"M^{r}. Burlamachi is to satisfy Lord Wimbledon. M^{r}. Barker, steward to Lord Wimbledon, to be sent for to render him his rent rolls."[4]

This vague memorandum is the only reference to any "satisfaction" received by Lord Wimbledon in the way of money.

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[1] Undated and unsigned.—*S. P. Dom.* 280, No. 79.

[2] I have searched in vain through the *Auditors' and Pells' Order Books*, *Patent and Privy Seal Books*, *Treasury warrants*, &c., &c., for any payment of money or grant of land to Lord Wimbledon at this time.

[3] The banker who received and accounted for that portion of Queen Henrietta Maria's dowry payable in France. He lived at Putney, so may have been a tenant of Lord Wimbledon's.

[4] From a manuscript book of notes made by Nicholas at the Council Table, Dec. 9. 1635.—*S. P. Dom.*

The anxiety shown by Wimbledon to bring his claims to a satisfactory conclusion was caused by his contemplating a third marriage.

Wimbledon had reached that sad period of life when we see our relatives, friends, and contemporaries, dying fast around us, and leaving us every year more friendless and alone. He had lately seen his old companions in arms, Edward Viscount Conway,[1] Walter Earl of Buccleuch,[2] and Horace Lord Vere,[3] pass away from this life very suddenly. He knew he might be the next to pay the debt of nature, but he yearned, as only the old can yearn, for a son to inherit his title and estates. Therefore, for the sake of heritage, he determined to marry again, as the following letter plainly sets forth.

Viscount Wimbledon to Sir Edmund Scott.

"S^r^ Edmund Scott,

"Give me leave out of the accompte and recconing of o^r^ old acquaintance to desire the Cortesie at yo^r^ hands to remember my humble services to o^r^ most gratious Lord, and to lett his Lo^pp^ know that whereas I told him that I had an intent to Marry, when I was last w^th^ his Lo^pp^, soe now I have a full resolution and fixed, which is w^th^ the daughter of the late deceased S^r^ Edward Souche, and because it is now the fall of the leafe, I desire some hast for fear of the fall of the fleshe; therefore I humbly beseech his Grace to give me both his License and blessing, for that old men need all the helpe that may be that is to marry a younge Maide as I am, and soe I rest,

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[1] Edward Conway, knighted by Robert Earl of Essex at the sacking of Cadiz in 1596, was for some years governor of Brill in Holland. He was raised to the Peerage as a Baron by James I., and appointed Secretary of State, which office he held for many years. Charles I. created him Viscount Kiltullagh in the Irish Peerage, and Viscount Conway. He held the appointment of governor of the Isle of Wight, and died in January, 1632.

[2] Walter Scott, Earl of Buccleuch, commanded a Scotch regiment in Holland for many years, and died quite suddenly on his return to England in 1633. Garrard to Wentworth, Dec. 6.—*Strafford Letters*, i. p. 166.

[3] Horace Vere, Lord Vere of Tilbury, retired from the service of the States in December, 1633, and died of apoplexy, when at a dinner party, May 2, 1635. He was buried by his brother Sir Francis Vere in Westminster Abbey, May 8.

"Yo^r^ much affectionate friend
"to serve you,
"WIMBALDON.

"The name of the ptie [party] is Sophia Souch."

Add. "To his very worthie friend S^r^ Edmund Scott, knight, give these."[1]

This letter brought the desired license from the Archbishop; and, about the last week in September, 1635, Lord Wimbledon was married to Sophia Zouch, the eldest daughter of Sir Edward Zouch,[2] of Woking, Surrey, knt. This marriage of a war-worn veteran of sixty-three to a young girl of seventeen occasioned some surprise in an age when "youth and crabbed age" were very frequently united in the holy bonds of matrimony.

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[1] Sept ? 1635. *S. P. Dom*, Chas. I., cccxxxii. No. 69. Sealed with crest—a wheatsheaf surmounted by a coronet, and having two supporters. This letter is in a clerk's hand, but signed by Wimbledon, who about this time took to spelling his name *Wimbaldon*.

[2] Sir Edward Zouch was great grandson of Sir John Zouch, a younger brother of the half-blood to Richard Lord Zouch of Harringworth, tempo Edward VI. He was one of James the I.'s especial favourites, and had on several occasions entertained that monarch at Woking Manor House, which had been granted to him by James, in 1620, by the service of carrying up the first dish to the king's table, and those of his successors, on St. James's Day, at dinner on that day, wherever his Majesty should be in England, and at same time should pay £100 of coined gold of coin of the realm. Sir Edward Zouch died June 7, 1634, and was buried in Woking church, where is a tablet to his memory. He was succeeded in his estates by his son, James Zouch, who appears, from his father's will, to have been illegitimate? In this will, dated June 6th, and proved 13th same month, "he committed his soul to his heavenly Father by the merits of the blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for him, which he steadfastly believes, that his sins were drowned in the bottomless sea, and shall never rise up in judgment against him." "For my body," says he, "I desire to have it buried in Wooking church by night. I give to my daughter Sophia £2500; to my daughter Doll £1500; to my daughter Bess £1500; to my son Alan £100 a year for term of life. . . . to my son Ned £100. . . . Item I allow James Zouch £200 a year till my debts and daughiers' portions are paid."—Manning's *Surrey*, i. p. 124.

"My Lord of Wimbledon, of whose valour, no man I think, ever doubted in his youth," wrote a worthy courtier on October 16, "hath now in his age shewed himself no less valiant and venturous, having maryed the young daughter (of 17 years old) of S^r^ Edward Zouch, deceased, with such assurance to himself of having children by her, as before he maryed he durst offer the king fyve hundred pounds to free his future heyer from ward ship." [1]

The veteran bridegroom found time during his honeymoon to write a very sharp letter to the Mayor of Portsmouth, reprehending him for the townsmen not taking off their hats to a statue of King Charles,[2] and ordering proper respect to be paid to this statue on pain of the Governor's displeasure. This letter,[3] or rather order, seems to have caused a good deal of murmuring at a time when respect for royalty was at a very low ebb indeed. An excess of loyalty may be deemed quixotic; but surely it is a mistake on the right side, and, if Wimbledon went to extreme lengths in a matter of punctiliousness, it was doubtless caused by seeing the extreme lengths many of the king's subjects were going, in the dangerous course of disloyalty.

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[1] Sir John Finet to ——? October 16, 1635. Printed in the report of the Earl of Denbigh's MSS. in the 6th Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS. part i. p. 283 *b*.

[2] In a *History of the Town of Portsmouth*, published in 1801, this statue is thus referred to:—

"On a house in High St. is a fine bust cast in brass of Charles I., in a niche, erected after his return from Spain, which was on October 5, 1623," p. 20. Horace Walpole says this bust of King Charles was erected by Lord Wimbledon. See *Royal and Noble Authors*, ii. p. 302.

[3] This letter is published in Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, ii. p. 306, from a transcript by Dr. Lort. The copy that I now give is taken from Walpole's, excepting the heading and signature, which I have taken from the copy in *S. P. Dom.* (Conway Papers).

VISCOUNT WIMBLEDON TO THE MAYOR OF PORTSMOUTH.

"MR MAIOR AND THE REST OF YOR BRETHREN,

"Whereas, at my last being at Portsmouth, I did recommend the beautifying of our streets, by setting in the signs of your inns to your houses, as they are in all civil towns; so I must now recommend it to you more earnestly, in regard of his majesty's figure or statue that it hath pleased his majesty to honor your town with, more than any other, so that these signs of your inns do not only obscure his majesty's figure, but outface it, as you yourselves do well perceive. Therefore, I desire you all to see that such an inconveniency be not suffered, but that you will cause that against the next spring it be redressed; for that any disgrace offered to his majesty's figure is as much as to himself; to which end I will and command all the officers and soldiers not to pass by it without putting off their hats.

"I hope I shall need to use no other authority to make you do it, for that it concerneth your obedience to have it done, especially now you are told of it by myself.

"Your assured friend
"WIMBELDON.[1]

"Oct 22.
1635.

"To his worthy friend the Maior of Portsmouth these be delivered."[2]

A few weeks after the receipt of this letter, we find the Mayor and Aldermen of Portsmouth lodging a complaint against the governor and garrison with the Privy Council. The Governor, they said, had imprisoned the collector of the ship-money tax for twenty-four hours on being told by one of the soldiers that the collector had spoken disrespectfully of him (the governor). As for the soldiers of the garrison, the Mayor said some of them had, in disobeyance of the Governor's orders issued in 1633, interfered with the trade of the town by following the callings of tailors, alehouses keepers and carpenters. The names of the offenders were sent to the Privy Council by the Mayor, who said the Governor's severity to the collector, and the open disobedience of the soldiers "struck a terror in the townsmen, and discouraged them in doing His Majesty's service."[1] The citizens of Portsmouth took badly to military discipline after the lax rule of the *débonnaire* Lord Pembroke; and their struggles to free themselves from a military yoke were generally made in Lord Wimbledon's absence, as appears from a letter of one Capt. William Towerson, Deputy Vice-Admiral, at Portsmouth, to Nicholas, on May 6, 1636, in which he says he hears Lord Wimbledon is expected at Portsmouth in a few days, "so the business must sleep until another year."[2]

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[1] This is evidently a mistake of the copyist, and ought to have been "Wimbaldon."

[2] From a copy of the original. *S. P. Dom.* Chas I. ccc. No. 30. The original is said to have been received at Portsmouth 10 Nov.

The following letters written in the summer of 1636 are interesting, as they refer to the sailing of Sir John Harvey (Governor of Virginia) for America, and the collection of "ship-money" at Portsmouth.

VISCOUNT WIMBLEDON TO SIR F. WINDEBANK.

"MOST NOBLE M^r^ SECRITARYE.

"I have receaved yo^r^ letter, w^ch^ you pleased to honour mee w^th^all, the 8^th^ of August at midnight, w^th^ the letter and coppye to the Mayor, for the redressing of this governement of his Ma^ties^, for w^ch^ I give you as meny thankes as if it had come sooner, for that I see thereby, that although yo^r^ many affay^rs^ of

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[1] See Petition of Mayor and Aldermen to Privy Council, Dec. 18, 1635.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] Towerson was Deputy Vice-admiral for Hants, under Jerome, Earl of Portland, Captain of the Isle of Wight, and Vice-Admiral for Hants. It does not appear from his letter to Nicholas what his complaint against Wimbledon was.

State, & in soe long time, y^{u} have not forgott mee nor the service.

"For yo^{r} letter to S^{r} John Harvey, according to yo^{r} direction, I heere send you backe againe; for that S^{r} John Harvey is not heere. And I am sorrye to see a journey of such charge, that hath soe many passengers that attend it, lye heere soe long, spending their victuall, and moneye, so unnecessarye, for they were heere before I came, and since a month. Therefore I doe not wonder that such journeys of o^{r} Nation prosper noe better.

"I find now why my Lo: Cottington did soe much desire my comming; w^{ch} was to meete the Inquisicon, that is brought hither wth my Lo: of Neiuport,[1] and others, not onlye to muster us, but to search us to the very sinewes; w^{ch} I hope wee shall answere like honest men, though wee suffer all the inconvenience that can bee thought on, as not to bee payed that little pay his Ma^{tie} alloweth, and yet to bee soe strictly inquired after, as to bee lessoned that, w^{ch} all others have beene formerly allowed of, & who labour to defend and repayre this towne, while o^{r}selves are falling into ruine; but patience will heale greater wounds. And soe wth my humble thankes for all yo Noble and readye Favours, I rest,

"Your most humble and
"Faythfull servant,
"WIMBLEDON.

"Portsmouth, August 9°
1636."[2]

VISCOUNT WIMBLEDON TO SIR F. WINDEBANK.

"NOBLE M^{r} SECRITARYE,

"I receaved yo^{r} letter dated the 16th of August, the same day at night, gladly entertayning anye service that may concerne his Ma^{tie}, or yo^{r} particular, as any servant y^{u} have. For S^{r} John Harvies letter, I shall bee carefull to give it, rather than send it backe, for he is soe farr from being gone, that his people heere cannot heare of hime, and for oure parts, wee could wish hee were departed, for that theyre cometh dayle soe menye from London to goe w^th^ hime, that wee feare they may bring that ill to us, w^ch^ thancks bee to god as yet wee are cleare of; and for hast of the journye wee see little, for that this day they are unloading their shipp of their ordinance, and Cables, & their most waightye loadings, to search for a Leake in her, being a most Crayse & old shipp.

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[1] Mountjoy Blount, illegitimate son of Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, by Lady Penelope Devereux, the divorced wife of Robert Lord Rich, was created Baron Mountjoy in the Irish Peerage by James I., and in the following reign was made a Baron of England, and further advanced in rank by the title of Earl of Newport. He succeeded Lord Vere of Tilbury as Master General of the Ordnance in 1635.

[2] In a clerk's hand, but signed by Wimbledon.—*S. P. Dom.*

"And if you have not heard of it, a worse chance hath happened heere, of one S^r^ Ellis Hicks, Cap^t^ of the 4th Whelpe who transported my Lo :. Danbye, and landed heere with 60 men, that were saved out of his Shipp, w^ch^ coming to Jersey splitt her selfe upon a Rocke by the shore, in sight of all the people there standing. Thus leaving my ill newes, I rest, wishing you all the happiness that yo^r^ selfe can imagine, and my self an occasion to assure you, how much I am,

"Your most humble and
"devoted servant
"WIMBALDON.

"God's howse in Portsmouth
"the 17^th^ of August 1636."[1]

A long wished for event now took place which made fair promise to brighten the last few years of Lord Wimbledon's life, and obliterate from his memory some of the disappointments and reverses of fortune which had cast their shadow over the evening of his life. This event was the birth of a son and heir. "Lord Wimbledon's lady was delivered of a son the Friday before Christmas," wrote one of Sir Thomas Puckering's correspondents on January 4,

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[1] In a clerk's hand, but signed by Wimbledon, endorsed, "17 Aug. 1636, Lo. Vic. Wimbledon, rec. the same evening at 8 at night."—*S. P. Dom.*

Government House at Portsmouth was formerly a priory called God's House, built by William of Wykeham, whose brother was prior of it. At the dissolution of religious houses by Henry VIII. it was converted into a dwelling house for the governor of the garrison.

1637.[1] On the last day of December, 1636, Lord Wimbledon's heir was baptized at St. Mary's Church, Wimbledon, and received the name of Algernon.[2]

If adversity is at times necessary to human beings to put a wholesome check on their natural tendency to pride and vainglory, then must prosperity be a most dangerous state to us weak mortals. We have few memoirs of Lord Wimbledon after the birth of his son; but Sir Kenelm Digby[3] writing to Lord Conway[4] on January 21, 1637,[5] refers to a letter written by "the noble, valiant, and ingenious Peere, the Lord Wimbledon," which epistle seems to have afforded considerable amusement to the cynical Kenelm Digby. This letter of Wimbledon's has long been dead, and no record of its contents has survived; but written as it was when everything seemed bright and fair to the happy father who penned it, some allowance must be made for its contents which were doubtless of an extra ambitious seeking nature. Pride and ambition were the Scylla and Charybdis on which Edward Cecil had so often struck against in his voyage through life. And, after many shipwrecks, he was once more sailing in dangerous proximity to those fatal rocks. Of all the many snares cast in the paths of rich mortals, the advent of a son and heir to their estates after many years of anxious expectation, is perhaps one of the greatest. Idols are not always made of wood, stone, or the precious metals. They are just as often of flesh and blood, and are just as apt to ensnare us. The cradle is but a step from the grave, and at the time we write of it was a very short step indeed, for the mismanagement of children was so great that the mortality amongst infants of tender years was very large. Yet even then parents strove to obtain honour and prospective lucrative posts for their idiolised heirs—honours which the recipients often never lived to enjoy, and posts which they perhaps never lived to fill. At the coronation of Charles I. two of the Knights of the Bath made on that occasion were children.

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[1] Mr. E. R——— ? to Sir T. Puckering, Jan. 4, 1636–7.—*Court and Times*, ii. p. 261.

[2] In the baptismal register of St. Mary's Church, Wimbledon, for the year 1636, is this entry :—

"Allgernoune Cecill the sonne of the Right Hon^{rble} Lorde Edward Cecill Viscount Wimbleton, and the honorable La. Soephia his wyffe was baptized the 31st December."

[3] He was son of Sir Everard Digby, and was one of the greatest philosophers of the 17th century. It would appear from the following account of Lady Digby that her talented husband was very wanting in plain common sense. "Venetia Anastasia Stanley, dau. and co-heir to Sir Edward Stanley, K.B., of Tonge Court, Salop, a lady of extraordinary beauty and figure was married to Sir Kenelm Digby. He was so enamoured with her beauty that he attempted to raise her natural charms, and preserve her health by a variety of whimsical experiments. He fed her with capons, fattened by the flesh of vipers, and introduced into England the great snail *pomatia* as a medicine for the use of his lady. He was perpetually inventing new cosmetics, and it is thought she fell a victim to these unnatural arts, for she was found dead in her bed, May 1, 1633, in the 33rd year of her age."—From a note in Blore's *Burghley House Catalogue*, p. 131.

[4] Edward, 2nd Viscount. He died in 1655.

[5] Dated from Paris, where Digby was then residing.—*S. P. Dom.*

> "Of the knights of the Bath," wrote Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, a few days after the king's coronation, "The first was the Earl of Denbigh's son, a Viscount; next the Lord Strange;[1] and two of them were children, the Lord Buckhurst, the Earl of Dorset's son of four or five years old, and my Lord of Walden's eldest son of some two years, brought in his lady mother's arms."[2]

Lord Wimbledon could hardly aspire to such an honour as the Bath for his young heir, but he was just as ready to anticipate the future. We have already seen how he durst offer £500 to his needy sovereign to free his yet unborn heir from wardship, and, as soon as this heir was born, he had the name of the "Hon. Algernon Cecil" put down on the Foundation list of Westminster School.[1] These early provisions for the future welfare of Algernon Cecil were unfortunately destined to be needless, for death, who spares neither old nor young, rich nor poor, lord nor peasant, laid his cruel and relentless hand on the little heir to the Wimbledon title and estates, and removed him from a world which he had not inhabited long enough to derive any benefit from his existence in it.

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[1] Baron Strange, son and heir of William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby.

[2] Mead to Stuteville, Feb. 11, 1626.—*Court and Times*, i. p. 80.

The exact date of Algernon Cecil's death, or the place of his death, have not yet been discovered.[2] He must have died before the close of 1637, when Lord Wimbledon wrote and signed his last will. This document, written just a year before the testator's decease, is wholly devoid of pride, and shows an aversion, instead of a desire, for any of those senseless and useless post-mortem honours which have at all times been so prevalent at the funerals of the rich.

There are some misfortunes that take the shadow off the grave and humble the proudest natures. The loss of his son doubtless crushed the life, as well as the pride, out of Edward Cecil's elastic nature. He had suffered several severe domestic afflictions in previous years, as well as reverses to his arms and fortune. The elements too had been his relentless foes on land and sea. It would be wrong to say these, or any of these, misfortunes were sent as judgments by that Higher Power to whom pride is so displeasing, but we all know that our natures must be purified from their corruptions before we are ready to be taken to our eternal home, and this last and greatest affliction which God thought fit to lay upon Edward Cecil, humbled his proud spirit at last.

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[1] I am indebted for this interesting information to Dr. Scott, late head master of Westminster School, who in reply to a letter of mine, asking if the name of "Edward Cecil" was to be found on any list of Westminster scholars, wrote as follows on Jan. 26, 1882.—"I have examined the *Clutas Alumnorum*, and find the name of Algernon Cecil (*nobilis*) as elected head of his year on the Foundation. He is noted as a son of Lord Wimbledon who died young, and was born from a third wife. There is unfortunately no record but this of Sir E. Cecil, but it is obviously probable he may have been a Westminster scholar."

[2] He may have died and been buried at Woking, but I am informed by the Vicar of that parish that the registers do not commence until 1651.

We have no records of his last days, but it would seem from his absence from the Privy Council Board for some months previous to his decease, that failing health prevented him from attending to his duties. It was doubtless also his bad state of health that caused his name to be omitted from the list of new Lords Lieutenant of counties, appointed on November 11, 1638—Lord Wimbledon having been one of the Lords Lieutenant for Surrey since 1626.

On November 16, 1638, the Right Hon. Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, departed this mortal life at his house at Wimbledon, in the 68th year of his age. Thus once again had the veteran soldier come face to face with death, and this time death vanquished him, but it was a victory that could not be followed up, for the stricken soldier had gone where death had no more dominion over him.

CHAPTER IX.

> " And when I lie in the green kirkyard
> With the mould upon my breast,
> Say not, that 'he did well,' or, 'ill!'
> Only—'he did his best.' "

"The last Will of the Lord Wimbledon of Wimbledon, written in the yeare, 1637.

"In the name of God the Father, God the Sonne and God the Holy Ghost, I, Edward, Lord Cecyll, Baron of Putney, and Viscount Wimbledon of Wimbledon, beinge the first of November after my third marriadge in the yeare one thousand six hundred [and] thirty-five[1] of our Saviour, in good and p'fecte health both of bodie and mynd, for which I give Almightie God, my most Mercifull Father, my humble and harty thankes, and consideringe with myselfe the mortalitie of all people, and, therefore, the certainty of my death that am ould and cannot live longe by nature, and may dye quickly, and suddenly, as it shall please Allmightie God, I have thought itt my dutie to God and man not to departe this life without expressinge [what] my mynde had when I was liveinge, by my Will, being that God Allmightie hath given the earth to the Sonn of Man, and hath appointed one generacon shall followe after another, to injoye itt. Therefore these are to witness the care I have had of my generacon, for my livinge wife and children, written and signed with my own hand as my last Will and Testament in manner and forme followinge; first, as my principall dutie and legacie I give and bequeath my Soule to Almightie God that gave it me, alsoe to God the Sonne that Redeemed it, and God the Holy Ghoste that Sanctified itt, believinge moste assuredlie that Christ Jesus died for me, that is for my Redemption, that only by His meritts I doe beleeve to bee saved and by noe other meanes, accordinge to His mercifull promise, for that in Him and by Him and by His holy passion and death I shall be saved, and injoye that miraculous immortall life and endles felicitie which He hath ordained for those that beleeve in Him. The next thinge I desire from my Executors, whose names are here under written and named, that my corpse be not opened or mangled as many are, therefore not longe to be unburied, and then to bee buried in the Parishe Churche and Mother Church in the lo^{pp} of Wimbledon, and in the isle [aisle] or Chappell of the said Church that I builte a purpose for that ende, and by the tombe of that Capell where my second wife lies, and to have no valte, but to be as deepe buried in the earth as may be, for, that as my bodie was made of earth, soe I desire it to returne to earth againe; and for seremony I desire as little as may be, only that my servants attend my bodie all in black and as many of overseers as shall be present, or nighe at hand. The names of my Executors are these—S^r Christopher Wray, S^r Thomas Grimes,[1] knight, S^r William Elliott,[2] knight, my cosen Robert Dewhurst, Captaine Thomas Brett, to whom I give for legacies, each of them twentie poundes of lawfull money of England. Item, besides my deere wive's joynture, my will is that shee have use of all my goods and chattells, real and personall, jewells, plate, moveables, and other personall estate whatsoever, my leases and readie mony excepted, for her naturall life only, so that there be sufficient security given, and an inventorie made of all such goodes and chattells as shee shall receave for the use of her life, without any accompte given for the ordinarie use of them, or decayinge, which of necessitie must bee. Item, I doe give her for her life the Parsonage,[1] Lordshipp, and all the tithes of Wimbledon, if I have no sonn. Item, I doe give to the Lady Zouch,[2] my mother-in-law, a hundred ounces of guilded plate to be bought for her by my Executors. Item, I doe give to my deerest and best sister, the Countess of Norridge,[3] my chaine of goulde with the crosse of diamonds that I did ordinarily weare, w^{ch} was my most deerest Mother's, and was called A Lattymer's crosse, not as a recompence, but as a thankfulness for her liberalitie that shee did bestowe of me in my wante and especiallie att my coming out of Italy,[4] more then anie of my friends beside. Item, I doe give to her my watch that hath my grand-father pictures uppon it [cut] out of an agatt stone. Item, I doe give to ould John Mason that served me as slater man, and my father, long and faithfully, six pounds a yeare for his life. Item, I doe give to Mr. Foxed (*sic*) my chaplaine tenn poundes as a legacy. Item, I doe give to Richard Staline, my steward, twentie poundes a yeare for his life to be paid out of all my lands. Item, I doe give to my foote man little Jeame Spicer for his life six poundes a yeare, if he serve me when God shall call me; soe likewise I doe give to any other foote boy or man that shall serve me att my death, five pounds apeece, to issue out of all my land, beside the first named, that shall serve me att the hower of my death.

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[1] This date leads me to the conclusion that Lord Wimbledon's will of 1637 was an identical copy of the will he made Nov. 1, 1635. It was probably rewritten just after his son's death, and the date "1637" added at the beginning and end of the will.

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[1] Sir Thomas Grimes, Knt., of Peckham, M.P. for Surrey in 1623, died 1644.

[2] Sir William Elliot, of Busbridge, Surrey. He was knighted by James I. in 1620. He was thrice married, and died Dec. 7, 1650, aged sixty-three. His son and heir, Sir William Elliot, married, March 1, 1653, Elizabeth Wray, a grand-daughter of Lord Wimbledon's.

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[1] Lord Burghley is believed to have resided in this house when living at Wimbledon. When Secretary of State he obtained a grant (in 1550) of a sixty years' lease of the rectory of Wimbledon with its chapels. His grandson, Lord Wimbledon, enjoyed a similar lease, being the lessee of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, and it would appear from a letter from Archbishop Laud to Doctor Potter, Dean of Worcester, written 1637, that Lord Wimbledon renewed his lease of the rectory of Wimbledon in that year. See Laud's *Works*, ii., pp. 486–9.

[2] Lady Zouch's maiden name was Dorothea Silking. Mr. Garrard, in a letter to Lord Wentworth, dated Dec. 3, 1635, thus refers to Lady Wimbledon's mother :—

"Her mother is a Dane, one that served Queen Anne in her bedchamber. I knew her well—a homely woman, but being very rich [Sir Edward] Zouch married her for her wealth."—*Strafford Letters*, i. p. 468.

[3] Mary, Countess of Norwich, died in March, 1638. See her funeral certificate in *S. P. Dom.* under that date. She was interred at Waltham. Her husband, Edward Denny, Earl of Norwich, predeceased her by six months.

[4] This word has been smudged over and rewritten in the copy of the will at Somerset House and reads like "Flely." I have taken an unusual course in altering the word in above copy to what it undoubtedly was meant for.

Item., I doe give to Jack foole, an innocent, five poundes a yeare soe longe as hee shall live, to be delivered to the Overseer of the poore in Wimbledon p'she. Item, I doe give to a little boy called Henry Singonie, the sonn of one Lewis Singonie, a French man that served me some thirtie yeares in the warres, six pound a yeare for his maintenance and for his putting out to be apprentice, and no longer. Item, I am resolved to give to the towne of Wimbledon twentye poundes for ever, not for any other use but to putt out to prentice such poore children, as well wenches as boyes, as the father and mother are not able to putt, alwaies provided that out of that twentie pounds my tomb and chappell be allwaies repaired, and if the twentie pounds bee any other way bestowed then [than] this my entente [intent], then to have it [given] to the poore of Putney p'she, wth the same condicon sett downe for Wimbledon pishe, then if the Overseers of Putney[1] pishe shall faile in the aforesaid condicons, then to have that twentie poundes fall to Motelacke [Mortlake], and if the Overseers of Mottelacke parishe faile in those condicons and doe not performe those condicons, then the twentie pounds to returne to Wimbledone again, and if the Overseers of Wimbledon doe faile once more, then the twentie poundes to returne to my true heyres; and for all other land, goodes, leases or chattells or monny I doe bequeath to my true heires, that is to my heires male lawfully begotten, and for want of such heirs to my heires gene'all, which is my daughters and theire heires, and in witnes of all these thinges that I have writt with my owne hand as my last Will and Testament,[2] I witnes it under my hand and seale and that these witnesses under written, in the yeare a thousand six hundred thirty seaven

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[1] Lord Wimbledon owned land in the parishes of Putney and Mortlake. On the 1st June, 1637, a "licence was granted to Edward Viscount Wimbledon and Sophia his wife to sell nine acres of pasture land at Mortlake, co. Surrey, to Jerome Earl of Portland," and on "1st March, 1638–9, licence was granted to Sophia Viscountess Wimbledon, widow, Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Elizabeth his wife, to alienate ten cottages and eighty acres of land in Wimbledon, Witham, Tooting, Putney, Barnes, and Mortlake, to Rowland Wilson."—*Patent Rolls*, 13 & 15 *Car. I.*

[2] Extracted from the Principal Registry of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Divisions of the High Court of Justice, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Registered 183 Lee.

This will was proved in London on Dec. 21, 1638, by Sir Christopher Wray and Sir Thomas Grimes, two of the executors, to whom administration of the testator's estate was granted.

"Christopher Fox,[1] Minister of Wimbledon,
"Nathaniell Wood, Steward,
"Frauncis Meverill, Secretary.
"WIMBALDON."

According to his last wish Lord Wimbledon was buried[2] in the small mortuary chapel, on the south side of the chancel, in St. Mary's Church, Wimbledon, which he had built as a burying-place for himself and his family. His daughters, whose names and marriages, with their arms impaled with their husbands' arms on small perforated stained glass windows, appear on the walls of this chapel,[3] erected a handsome altar-tomb of black marble to their father's memory. The projecting ledge of this monument bears the following inscription in old English capitals:—

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[1] A legacy having been bequeathed to Mr. Fox by the testator in above will his signature was invalid. In the stormy days of the Commonwealth Christopher Fox was deprived of his living. "On the 24th of June, 1656," says the author of a *History of Wimbledon*, "it was resolved by the committee of Plundered Ministers, "that *Christopher Fox*, not having satisfied the committee of his fitness to serve the cure of Wimbledon, the Right Hon. Lord Lambert (then in possession of the manor) he desired to nominate some fit person.' On the 11th May, 1658, William Syms was appointed by the committee."—W. Bartlett's *History of Wimbledon*, p. 110.

[2] The burials for the year 1638 are missing in the Wimbledon parish registers.

[3] On the walls of the chapel are small marble tablets, with the following inscriptions. On the south side:—

"His first wife who in this tomb is named," and "his second wife." Above each of these tablets is a small perforation filled with stained glass, containing the arms of Cecil impaling Noel, and in the second window the arms of Cecil, with a Viscount's coronet, impaling Drury.

On the east wall.

"Mr. James Fines, son and heyr of the Lo. Viscount Say and Sele, and his wife, Frances Cecil.

"The Lo. Francis Willoughby of Parram and his wife Elizabeth Cecil." Lord Willoughby's arms have been removed from above his tablet, but the Fiennes arms remain.

On the west wall.

"Sir Christopher Wray, Knight, heyer to the Drurys and his wife Albinia Cecil." The Wray arms removed. "Dorothy Cecil, unmarried as yet."

"Here resteth Sir Edward Cecill, Knight, Lo. Cecill, and Baron of Putney, Viscount Wimbledon of Wimbledon, Third sone of Thomas, Earle of Exeter, and Dorothy Nevill, of the Coheyres of the Lo. Nevill of Latimer, and Grandchild of the Lo. Treasurer Burghley."

On the north side of the monument is this inscription in Roman capitals:—

"Read above first.

"Who followed the Warres in the Netherlands five and thirty years, and passed the Degrees of Captaine of Foote and Horse, Collonell of foote and Collonell of the English Horse; at the Battell of Newport in Flanders."

On the south side is this inscription:—

"Who was Admiral, and Lo. Marshall, Lieutenant Generall, and Generall against the King of Spaine, and Emperor, in the service of King James, and K. Charles the first,—and at his returne was made Counsellor of State and Warre, and Lo. Lieutenant of this County of Surrey and Captaine and Governor of Portsmouth."

At the east end is the following:—

"And after so many Travels returned to this patient and humble Mother Earth, from whence he came, with assured Hope in his Saviour Christ, to rise again to Glory Everlasting."

At the west end:—

"Read this last.

"His first wife was Theodosia Nowell of the House of Nowell [Noel], and Viscount Campden, by the Mother, of the House of the Lo. Harrington, who dyed in Holland, and lyeth buried in the Cathedral Church of Utrecht, by whom he had

4 daughters, here mentioned in this Chapple, with their Husbands. His second wife was DIANA DRURY, here interred, one of the coheyres of the House of Drury, and by the Mother Descended from the Antient Family of the Dukes of Bucks and Stafford, and had onely one daughter by her, named Anne Cecill."

The walls of the chapel[1] are decorated with helmets and pieces of armour worn by Lord Wimbledon, and from the centre of the roof, above the altar monument, hangs a viscount's coronet.

Time alters everything, sooner or later, but so far this little chapel has escaped the merciless hand of the destroyer and the well-meaning, but equally pitiless, hand of the restorer. The chapel, and the handsome monument of flawless black marble, remain as they were nearly two hundred and fifty years ago. Thus Edward Cecil's tomb escaped the sacrilege which was one of the distinguishing marks of that period of English history termed the Commonwealth; and so in death he was more fortunate than his more successful companion-in-arms, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary forces, who received a splendid funeral at the hands of the Parliament in Westminster Abbey, but whose effigy was, on the night of his interment, wantonly mutilated by some "rude vindictive fellows," supposed to be Independents.[1]

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[1] On the ground are 2 flat gravestones to the memory of a grandson and grand-daughter of Lord Wimbledon. The inscriptions are as follows:—

1 "Here lyeth RICHARD BETENSON, Esq., son of Sir Richard Betenson, of Scadbury in the county of Kent, Knight and Baronett. He married Albinia, one of the daughters of Sir Christopher Wray, of Ashby, in the county of Lincoln, Knt, who married Albinia, one of the daughters and heirs of the Lord Wimbledon. He was married 20 years and 4 months, and left five children living. He departed this life in the 45th year of his age, 1677."

2 "Here lyeth the body of the Honl FRANCES ELLIS, widow, youngest daughter of James Fiennes, late Viscount Say and Sele, and Frances Cecill his wife, one of the co-heirs of the late Viscount Wimbleton, who was married to Andrew Ellis of Alrey, in the county of Flint, Esq. And having by him one daughter and heir, she departed this life on the 28th of January in the 53rd year of her age, and in the year of our Lord 1686-7."

Lord Wimbledon was author of the following military tracts :—

"The Duty of a Private Soldier." [2]

"The Commodities and Discommodities of undertakinge and Relievinge Rochell, 1627." [3]

"Journal of the Voyage and Enterprize upon Spaine, by the English and Dutch under the command of Sir Edward Cecyl, General by Sea and Land; from the 8th of Sept. 1625 to the 5th of Dec. following, wherein are set down all Instructions, Warrants, Letters, [4] &c."

"The Lord Viscount Wimbledon, his Method how the Coasts of the Kingdom may be defended against any Enemy, in case the Royal Navye should be otherwise employed or impeached, 1628." [5]

"Lord Viscount Wimbledon's Demonstration of divers Parts of War, especially of Cavallerye." [6]

There is extant besides, in print :—

"The Answer of the Viscount Wimbledon to the Charge of the Earle of Essex and nine other Colonels at the Council Table, relatinge to the expedition against Cales." [7]

There are three portraits, and a rare engraving of Lord

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[1] "The head of the effigy was broken, the buff coat which he had worn at Edgehill was slit, the scarlet breeches were cut, the white boots slashed and the sword taken away."—Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 235.

[2] *Harleian MSS.* 3638, fo. 155–9. This tract, which sets forth the manifold duties of a soldier, by one evidently well acquainted with all the minutiæ of military service, was probably written in 1617.

[3] See Appendix.

[4] Lord Wimbledon published his "Journal" in 1627, and there is a copy in the British Museum Library. "Walpole is not correct," says Dr. Bliss, "in saying that Sir E. Cecil speaks in the *plural* number in his Cadiz tract, as he says :—'I called a counsell,' (p. 7); 'I gave special order,' (p. 6); 'I sent Sir Thomas Love' (p. 11). There is no doubt of Lord Wimbledon's claim as author of the tract." See MS. notes in Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, by Bliss. (British Museum.)

[5] See Appendix.

[6] See Chapter VIII.

[7] Printed at the end of Lord Lansdowne's *Works in Verse and Prose.*

Wimbledon by Simon Pass, in existence. Of the portraits, one is by Jansen, the second by Hoskins, and the third by an unknown artist.

Walpole, in a letter to Grosvenor Bedford, dated Aug. 29, 1758, says:—

> "In an old MS. of Vertue I find this memorandum:—
>
> 'Among the King's pictures at Somerset House [is] a picture of *Colonel Cecil*, *Viscount Wimbledon*, *ætat.* 37, *anno* 1610. *Corn. Johnson*, *pinx.*'"[1]

This portrait[2] by Jansen (*alias* Johnson) is now at Combe Abbey, Coventry.

The portrait by Hoskins (who was the great miniature painter of the reign of Charles I.) is a small head of Lord Wimbledon in oils, and is among the family portraits at Burghley House.[3] The third and last portrait is not a pleasing or well-executed one. This picture—which is two feet three inches by one foot nine inches—represents Lord Wimbledon's bust in armour, which is nearly covered by a pink satin scarf,[4] embroidered with a grey pattern of sprays and flowers, and has a fringe. It is crossed from the right shoulder and passed under the left arm. A deep Vandyke collar, edged with broad white lace, imprisons the neck and failing as it does on naturally sloping shoulders, makes the head—which is bare, with the hair cropped rather short on the forehead—look preposterously large for the bust. In the corner of the picture, over the right shoulder, are the arms of Cecil impaling Noel, surmounted by a viscount's coronet.[1] In the opposite corner is written :—

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[1] See Walpole's *Letters* edited by Peter Cunningham (1857), iii. p. 166.

[2] This interesting portrait has for many generations been in the possession of the noble house of Craven. It probably belonged to the first Lord Craven, who served under Lord Wimbledon at the siege of Bois-le-duc, in 1629. I have not been able to see this portrait, as Combe Abbey has now passed into the hands of strangers, "who make it an invariable rule never to show the pictures." But from an old engraving of this portrait, in the possession of a member of my own family, it is very evident that the Dutch engraver, Simon Pass, took his engraving of General Sir Edward Cecil from Jansen's portrait, as the two engravings resemble each other very markedly, only in the case of the more recent engraving, a small portion only of the bust is given. It is a noticeable fact that Jansen painted Sir Edward Cecil's mother, the Countess of Exeter, who died in 1608, and this portrait is considered one of his most beautiful works. See *Catalogue of Portraits at Burghley House.*

[3] *Burghley House Catalogue*, printed at Stamford, 1815, p. 134.

[4] There is a mystery attached to this pink satin scarf. The picture was painted in 1631, the year Lord Wimbledon left the Dutch service. It was probably a last memorial of his military life, and may have been painted in Holland. But the *pink scarf* was the badge of all Spanish officers, and the

"S^{r} Edward Cecil
L^{d} Viscount Wimbledon
1631
Æ^{t} 59."

The rare engraving by Simon Pass, now in the Print Room, British Museum, is one of that great Dutch engraver's best portraits. It is adorned with military trophies and is superscribed :—

"Generall Cecyll sonn to the right
Honorable the Earl of Exeter, etc,
employed by his Mat^{ie} over his forces
the North and South Brittannes in,
the ayde of the Princes of Juliers and Cleve."
"Simon Passeus, sculpsit, A^{o} 1618."

Dutch officers wore the *orange scarf*. It is not likely Lord Wimbledon would have adopted the badge of the enemy whom he had fought against all his life. My solution is that the orange paint in the original portrait has faded to a pink colour, a not uncommon occurrence, as I have seen several portraits in the Trippenhuis picture gallery at Amsterdam in which the orange scarves have faded to pink.

[1] The coronet is an anachronism, as the title was not bestowed on Cecil in his *first* wife's lifetime. The portrait was probably painted for his children—hence the Noel arms instead of Drury or Zouch. The above portrait is in the possession of the family of the late Admiral Selwyn of Wincanton, the representatives of the elder branch of the Selwyn family. It was originally at Matson, the seat of the Selwyn family, who were descended from the General W^{m} Selwyn who married Albinia Betenson, a great grand-daughter of Lord Wimbledon.

There is an exact duplicate of this last portrait of Lord Wimbledon in the possession of George Tancred, Esq^{r}., Weens House, Roxburghshire.

Before parting from Edward Cecil it is necessary to say a word about his moral character, for no biography is complete that ignores such an important matter; even though it be in the memoirs of a man's public, and not his private, life. From his own letters, and from frequent mention of him in the letters of his contemporaries, we may honestly believe that Lord Wimbledon was essentially a religious man, and that he set a good example in all matters of religion to those about him.[1] He was on excellent terms with Archbishop Laud, and took that great prelate's advice in the church appointments of which he had the patronage.[2] His own letters give evidence of the interest he took in the spiritual welfare of his regiment in Holland. He was a faithful and affectionate husband, a kind father, and a staunch friend to those who tried to win his friendship. Add to these virtues those of generosity, hospitality, and upright dealing in money matters, for all of which he was distinguished, and the private life of Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, will compare favourably with the lives of many far more distinguished men of his time.

We now come to Lord Wimbledon's children who have hitherto been only incidentally mentioned. Their names were:—

The Hon. Dorothy.
The Hon. Albinia.
The Hon. Elizabeth.
The Hon. Frances.

The Hon. Dorothy Cecil, the eldest and only unmarried daughter, survived her father about fourteen years, dying in France, 1652. She was distinguished for her charitable actions, and made a good use of the money bequeathed to her. Her will bears date 5 May, 1651,[1] and was proved in 1652.

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[1] There is a set of hymns in the British Museum Library, by Wm. Lisle of Wandsworth, written in June, 1635, and dedicated to "his much endeared and trulie honored lord Edward Viscount Wimbledon."—*Add. MSS.* 22309.

[2] See a petition to Archbishop Laud from the parishioners of Mortlake, relative to Mr. Harrison, whom Lord Wimbledon had appointed to the living, at the *recommendation of his Grace* May 26, 1638.—*S. P. Dom.*

The Hon. Albinia Cecil married, as we have already seen, Sir Christopher Wray, Knt., of Barlings Abbey, Lincolnshire, by whom she had a very large family, viz.: six sons and six daughters. The eldest son, William Wray, was knighted by Charles II., June 6, 1660, and three weeks later created a baronet.[2] The second son, Edward Wray, had Barlings Abbey settled upon him; he was father of Sir Baptist Edward Wray, 8th Bart. of Glentworth. The third son, Drury Wray, settled in Ireland, and eventually succeeded as 9th Bart. of Glentworth; his two sons, Colonel Christopher Wray[3] and Captain Cecil Wray,[4] succeeded successively as 10th and 11th Barts. of Glentworth. The fourth son, Cecil Wray, was grandfather of Sir John Wray, 12th Bart. of Glentworth, whose son, Sir Cecil Wray, 13th Bart. of Glentworth,[1] was M.P. for Westminster 1782–4, and the opponent of Fox in the memorable election fight for the same borough in 1784. There is no need to recapitulate the stirring incidents of this famous contest, suffice it to say, that the Countess of Salisbury[2] supported the representative of Edward Cecil Viscount Wimbledon in his unequal contest with Fox, and though she could not outrival the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire, who canvassed for "the man of the people," yet she won many votes for Sir Cecil by her beauty of face and charm of manner.

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[1] She appointed her sister, Albinia Lady Wray, an executrix—leaves her a legacy and legacies to her Wray nephews and nieces—also bequests to her sisters Lady Willoughby and Mrs. Fiennes and her stepmother the Viscountess Wimbledon—desires to be buried in the parish church at Wimbledon "near her dear father," if she dies within half a day's journey of Wimbledon, and to be carried there by night—if she dies at a greater distance to be buried where she dies—leaves £600 in trust to assist poor people to go and settle in Ireland."

By an indenture dated March 2, 1650, the Hon. Dorothy Cecil charged certain lands in the parish of Putney with a payment of £25 a year in trust to Sir Richard Betenson and others, their heirs and assigns. Of this sum £8 a year, or so much of it as should be sufficient, to be expended in the repairs of her father's tomb and chapel; the overplus to be expended on the poor of Wimbledon in the manner named by the devisee.

[2] The baronetcy of *Wray of Ashby* became extinct in 1686, on the death of Sir W^{m} Wray, 3rd Bart. of Ashby and 7th Bart. of Glentworth, second son of the 1st baronet of Ashby.

[3] Sir Christopher Wray, was Lieut. Col. of Gen^{l} Farrington's reg^{t} of foot, now known as the Worcestershire Reg^{t} (late 29th foot). He saw much active service in Spain, Portugal, France and Holland, and died at Portsmouth on the eve of embarking with his reg^{t} for Spain, Nov. 21, 1710.

[4] A captain in Farrington's reg^{t}; High Sheriff of Lincolnshire 1720. Left his unentailed estates to his natural daughter, Miss Anne Casey, who married Lord Vere Bertie by whom she left issue.

Of Albinia Lady Wray's daughters we may mention that one of them (Frances) married Sir Henry Vane, the younger (who was beheaded in 1662), by whom she left a large family.

It is a remarkable fact that Lord Wimbledon's three daughters all married into Puritan families, and their husbands sided with the Parliament on the breaking out of the Civil War. Albinia's husband, Sir Christopher Wray, was a prominent Parliament man. He raised a troop of horse in Suffolk with which he did good service in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.

> "I saw there," wrote a Suffolk gentlemen, when at Bury St. Edmunds in 1642, "diverse horsemen to goe into Lincolnshire who accompanied Sir Christopher Wrey (*sic*) from the White

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[1] The baronetcy of Glentworth became extinct on the death, in 1809, of Sir W^{m} James Wray, 15th Bart., who was the last *male* descendant of Albinia Lady Wray. The estates passed on the death of Sir Cecil Wray's widow in 1825 to Sir Cecil's nephew (his sister Isabella's second son) whose great grandson now possesses them. See the *History of the Wrays of Glentworth* for a full account of this historical family and their representatives.

[2] Mary Amelia, daughter of the first Marquis of Downshire. She was born in 1750 and married 1773 the Earl, afterwards Marquis, of Salisbury. She was burnt to death at Hatfield House in 1835.

Heart out of towne. . . The Lieftenant's colors were an armed arm holding up a sword, and this word about it, *The warre is just that is necessary.*"[1]

Sir Christopher was one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of England, and, shortly before his death, was sent to Newark to reside with the Scots' army, then besieging that town, as one of the six Commissioners chosen by Parliament to represent their party. He died suddenly in London, Feb 6, 1645–6, and was buried in the church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, on Feb. 13.[2] Albinia Lady Wray survived her husband fourteen years, dying in Jan. 1660, and was buried Jan. 30, in the church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields.[3]

The Hon. Elizabeth Cecil married Francis, 5th Baron Willoughby of Parham. This nobleman received £1,300 from the Parliament, after the surrender of the king at Newark, for his services. He took no part, however, in the condemnation of his unfortunate sovereign, and soon after joined the Royalists. He was obliged to leave England, and became one of the companions in exile of Charles II. Returning to England, in 1655, he was committed a prisoner to the Tower. His charming wife voluntarily shared his imprisonment. Lord Willoughby's chaplain has left us an interesting memoir of this truly noble and pious lady's life, "who was," he says, "so adorned with outward gifts, but especially with inward graces, that as she was the glory of the present, she will be the wonder of the future generation."[4]

Lady Willoughby had a large family, but only two of her children (daughters) survived her. Her first born, a son, was born at Wimbledon House, in 1629 and died there a few months later.[1] A second son lived to grow up and was the hope and joy of his parents' existence. But a sudden illness carried him off on March 13, 1661, and, a fortnight later, his broken-hearted mother followed her beloved son to the tomb. Mother and son lie buried in the church at Knaith, Lincolnshire. The bereaved Lord Willoughby spent the last few years of his life in the West Indies, where he held the appointment of Governor of Barbados. He was drowned, in a gale at sea, when on his way from Barbados to St. Christopher's, with 1,500 men, to reduce that island. His brother William succeeded him as 6th Baron.

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[1] *Diary of John Rous* (published by the Camden Society), p. 123.

[2] Parish registers.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See "A saint's monument, or, the tomb of the righteous, the foundation whereof was laid in a sermon preached at Knath, in the county of Lincoln, at the solemn interment of the corps of the right honourable and truly religious Lady Elizabeth, wife of the right hon. Francis Lord Willoughby, Baron of Parham, March 26, 1661, and since finished by W^{m}. Firth, M.A., and

Lord Willoughby left surviving issue two daughters :—

Frances, married to Wm. 3rd Lord Brereton ; Elizabeth,[2] married to Richard Jones, 1st Earl of Ranelagh.

The Hon. Frances Cecil[3] married the Hon. James Fiennes, son and heir of Wm. Viscount Saye and Sele. They had issue three sons and two daughters. The sons predeceased their father, who succeeded as 2nd Viscount Saye and Sele (of the new creation) in 1662, and died in

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chaplain to the right hon. Francis Lord Willoughby, Baron of Parham. London, 1662, 12°."

The book known as *Lady Willoughby's Diary* (by H. M. Rathbone, London, 1848, 2 vols), is one of those needless publications known as a *fictitious diary*.

[1] "1629. The second day of November, being Monday, between the hours of four and five in the morning was born Robert Willoughby, the son of the right hon^{l}. Francis Lord Willoughby, and Lady Elizabeth, his wife, and was baptized Thursday, the nineteeth day of the same month, 1629."—Wimbledon *Registers.*

"1630. Robert Willoby, sonn to the right hon'abell Lord Franncis Willoby, and the hon'abell Lady Elizabeth, his wife, was buried the xxth day of February."—*Ibid.*

[2] The direct descendant of this lady is the present Dudley Charles, 24th Lord de Ros, premier Baron of England, the heir general of Elizabeth Cecil, Lady Willoughby of Parham.

[3] She married, 2^{ndly}, the Rev. Joshua Sprigge, of Crayford, Kent, an Independent minister.

1674, when the barony fell into abeyance between his two daughters, Elizabeth and Frances,[1] while the viscounty passed to his nephew Wm. Fiennes. From the eldest daughter, who married John Twisleton, Esq., of Barley, co. York, is descended the present Baron Saye and Sele.

Lord Wimbledon's daughters and co-heirs sold the Wimbledon estate, a few months after their father's death, to Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, and others, as trustees for Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I., for which they received the sum of £16,789.[2]

To those who may believe in the ill-luck attached to properties which were unjustly taken from the Church, the following list of the possessors of the Wimbledon estate, during the short space of 200 years, may furnish a long roll of Stuart-like misfortunes.

In the reign of Henry VIII., Wimbledon Manor, which for many centuries had belonged to the see of Canterbury, was resigned, doubtless by compulsion, by Crammer, to the king, who bestowed it, in 1539, on his favourite, Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.

The Earl of Essex was accused of high treason in the following year, and, being found guilty, was beheaded on Tower Hill, July 28, 1540. His estates were all confiscated and Wimbledon reverted to the Crown.

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[1] Buried in Lord Wimbledon's chapel. Her only child, Cecil, married first, Richard Langley, of Bexwells, C° Essex, and secondly, her cousin, W^m^ Fiennes, elder brother of Lawrence, 5th Viscount, whom she also survived. She died without issue at Bath, July 22, 1715, in her 58th year, and was buried at Broughton, C° Oxford.—Chester's *Westminster Abbey Registers*, p. 9, note.

[2] Dec. 11, 1639. Warrant to the Master & C° of the Court of Wards and Liveries to cause payment to be made out of the receipt there to Francis Lord Willougby, James Fiennes, and Sir Christopher Wray, in satisfaction of the purchase of the manor or lordship of Wimbledon, and for the mansion house, park, and other lands there, for the sum of £16,789, without account, according to a contract made by the Lord Treasurer and others, commissioners in that behalf. "At the desire of your Majesty's dearest consort the Queen." *Sign Manuals*, Charles I. xiii. No. 107.—*S. P. Dom.*

The next possessor was Queen Catherine Parr, the last of Henry the Eighth's six wives. Excepting the loss of her tyrannical lord and master she had no good fortune after stepping into Cromwell's vacated property. As the wife of Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord High Admiral of England, she endured many sorrows, and died in childbed in 1648.

Once more Wimbledon reverted to the Crown, but its royal possessor, Edward VI., lived only a short time after, and his sister Mary succeeded to the crown and all crown lands. Mary, to her credit be it spoken, did her best during her short reign to restore Church lands to their rightful owners. Wimbledon was given to Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, who only survived his royal mistress one day.

Elizabeth did not share her sister's ideas about church lands, and for nearly twenty years she kept the Wimbledon estate in her own hands. She then gave a grant of the manor house, and grounds adjacent, to Sir Christopher Hatton, her future Chancellor and favourite. Though owner of a very small part of the estate, and holding that small part for a few weeks only, as he sold the manor-house, stables, gardens, and tenements, &c., to Thomas Cecil and his heirs for ever, on April 23rd, 1576, Hatton was just as unfortunate as any of his predecessors in this estate, for he died of a broken heart—the saddest of all sad fates.

Wimbledon remained in the hands of the Crown till the 32nd year of Elizabeth's reign, when her Majesty exchanged it with Sir Thomas Cecil, who already owned the manor-house, for two of Cecil's manors in Lincolnshire. Thomas Cecil, 2nd Lord Burghley and 1st Earl of Exeter, who had rebuilt the manor house in 1588, resided chiefly at Wimbledon during his latter years. And it was in the evening of his life that heavy misfortunes befell him. As we have already seen his second Countess was accused most falsely of one of the greatest crimes conceivable. His little daughter, the sunshine of his old age, who had been born at Wimbledon, predeceased him. His grandson and future heir, Lord Roos, who had given him an infinity of trouble, secretly left England and soon after died abroad, not without strong suspicion of having been poisoned. And his daughter, Lady Hatton, one of the beauties of her time, brought her endless quarrels and complaints to Wimbledon, when in need, which was very often, of the help of her relations against her husband and legal oppressor—the Lord Chief Justice of England.[1]

Lord Exeter settled the estate of Wimbledon on his *third* son, Sir Edward Cecil, who had been fairly fortunate in life before inheriting this estate, but certainly had very little success in life afterwards. The successor of Lord Wimbledon in the manor was Queen Henrietta Maria. Misfortunes fell thick and heavy on the hitherto light-hearted consort of Charles I. soon after the acquisition of this manor, which she often visited in company with the King.[2] Excepting Mary Queen of Scots, no Queen ever better earned the title of "*la Reine malheureuse.*" After the execution of Charles I. the manor was seized by the Parliamentary Commissioners, and, being put up for sale, was purchased from them by Captain Adam Baynes of Knowstrop, in the county of York.

The new owner of the historic manor does not appear ever to have lived on his new property, which he parted with on May 17, 1652, for £16,822 17*s.* 8*d.* to the Parliamentary commander, Major-General Lambert.[1] By so doing Baynes escaped having to refund this royal manor after the Restoration. He was not so lucky in another property, as he was compelled to refund the royal manor of Holdenby, in Northamptonshire, which he had purchased of the Parliament for £29,000.[2]

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[1] Sir Edward Coke and his 2nd wife lived apart for many years of their lives. The following anecdote will show the "feeling" they had for each other :—

"Sir Edward Coke was said to be dead all the first morning in Westminster Hall this Terme, insomuch that his wife got her brother the Lord Wimbledon to post with her to Stoke, to take possession of that place, but beyond Colebrook they met with one of his Physicians coming from him, who told her of his much amendment, which made them all return to London." Garrard to Wentworth, June 20, 1634.—*Strafford Letters*, i. p. 265.

[2] A few days before the king was brought to trial, he ordered the seeds of some Spanish melons to be planted in the gardens at Wimbledon.—Bartlett's *Hist. of Wimbledon*, p. 43.

At the time that General John Lambert entered into possession of the Wimbledon manor he was at the zenith of his short-lived fame. Appointed Deputy of Ireland and Commander-in-Chief there, he considered himself as little inferior in power to Cromwell. His ambitious designs were so apparent and transparent that the Parliament decided to clip his wings. His commission in Ireland was limited to six months, which gave Lambert such deep offence that he resigned his commission before he had even entered on his appointment. The Parliament accepted his resignation, "whereupon Lambert," writes Mrs. Hutchinson, "with a heart full of spite, malice, and revenge, retreated to his palace at Wimbledon, and sat there watching an opportunity to destroy the Parliament."[3] Lambert's power was not yet gone, but it was on the wane. His restless ambition caused him to plot against the Protector and Parliament, in order to rise to power himself. Wimbledon was his retreat, where he amused himself with gardening and scheming, in which congenial occupations he was certainly more successful in the former than the latter. After Cromwell's death he made a supreme effort to hoist himself into power, but on the eve of success the army deserted him. He was seized and sent to the Tower, January, 1660. Escaping from there on April 9, he was recaptured on the 22nd. The Restoration in no way benefited him, for he was exempted from the Act of Indemnity, and in June, 1662, was brought to trial. His affected humility on his trial saved his life, but he was banished to the Island of Guernsey where he lived in confinement for over thirty years and died a Roman Catholic.

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[1] The house was then called Wimbledon Hall. The park surrounding it was spoken of as containing 377 acres, 2 roods, 18 perches. Bartlett's *Hist. of Wimbledon*, pp. 43-4.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson* (Bohn's edition), p. 361.

Wimbledon was restored to Queen Henrietta Maria, but she no longer cared for the place, and it was sold on June 10, 1660, to George Digby, Earl of Bristol.

The career of this nobleman had been a very chequered one, and as a royalist leader he had suffered much in the King's cause. Unfortunate before he ever set foot on the Wimbledon estate, his fortunes cannot be said to have altered for the worse. But neither did they alter much for the better, and we find him in disfavour with Charles II. for his prominent opposition to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. In March, 1664, the king sent a guard to Wimbledon to arrest Lord Bristol, who, however, escaped that snare, but was never restored to the king's favour.[1] He died in 1676 "neither loved nor regretted," says Horace Walpole, "by any party."

Thomas Osborne,[2] Baron Kiveton, Viscount Latimer and Earl of Danby in the English Peerage, and Viscount Dumblane in the Peerage of Scotland, now purchased the

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[1] "He was Secretary of State and Privy Councillor to Charles II., but forfeited both these offices by reconciling himself to the Church of Rome against which he had written several pieces of controversy."—*Biog. Hist.* iii. p. 22.

[2] A direct descendant of Sir John Nevill, last Lord Latimer. His father, Sir Edward Osborne, Bart., had married Anne, only daughter of Thomas Walmsley, Esq., by Elizabeth Danvers, the daughter of Lady Elizabeth Danvers, who was one of the daughters and co-heirs of the last Lord Latimer. See the arms of this nobleman with 7 quarterings on a window on the north side of the chancel in Wimbledon church.

Wimbledon Estate from the widowed Lady Bristol. He was at this time Lord High Treasurer of England, and one of the most able of Charles the Second's ministers. His unprincipled sovereign made Danby write to the King of France offering the alliance of Charles II. to Louis of France for a stipulated sum. This letter was subsequently laid before the House of Commons by the English ambassador at Paris, and, in consequence, Danby was impeached, although he satisfactorily proved that the king had ordered him to make the offer to Louis. The earl was made a scapegoat to save the king's honour (!), and was committed to the Tower in 1679, where he remained for some years. William III. created Danby Marquis of Carmarthen and Duke of Leeds. In 1695 he was again impeached by the Commons for corrupt practices, but owing to the sudden prorogation of Parliament no further steps were taken against him. He died in 1712.

The next lord of the manor of Wimbledon, Sir Theodore Jansen, Bart., M.P., was as unfortunate as any of his predecessors. Possessed of a colossal fortune in 1717, the year he bought the Wimbledon estate from the late possessor's trustees, under a decree of Chancery—he lost it nearly all four years later, as one of the Directors of the notorious South Sea Bubble Company. He was expelled from the House of Commons, his papers seized, and obliged to surrender to Parliament the vast sum of £220,000. He had previously pulled down the old Manor House at Wimbledon, and was building another, when his estates were seized. The poor bankrupt's estate at Wimbledon was purchased by Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, in whose eccentric hands we must leave it.

There only remains one person now to say a few words about. This was Sophia Vicountess Wimbledon, who was left a rich widow at the age of twenty.[1] A few years after her husband's death she re-married. Her second husband was Sir Robert King,[2] Muster-Master-General of Ireland and Constable of the Castle of Boyle in Ireland, who had distinguished himself in 1642 against the Irish, especially in the battle of Ballintober, in the Province of Connaught, where a complete victory was obtained which was a good deal owing to his great courage.[3] Soon after this, he went to reside in London, and rented Cecil (or Wimbledon) House in the Strand.[4] His first wife had died in March, 1638, leaving him six sons[5] and four daughters. His second wife was the Vicountess Wimbledon, by whom he had two sons and four daughters, only one of whom, a daughter, survived her parents, viz., Elizabeth King, who married Sir Thomas Barnardiston, Bart., of Ketton, Suffolk, by whom she had a large family.[6]

The Viscountess Wimbledon survived her second husband many years. She resided at Ketton, with her daughter, Lady Barnardiston, and had the happiness of seeing her grandchildren grow up around her. On November 12, 1691, this venerable lady ended her long and useful life, and, on November 19, she received honourable burial in Ketton Church,[1] where is a monument inscribed to her memory, the concluding lines of which will make a fitting end to this volume, for she made the title of Wimbledon, which she bore, to be esteemed and loved by all who knew her :—

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[1] "Viscount Wimbledon is lately dead, and has left a rich young widow." Nicholas to Pennington, Nov. 27, 1638.—*S. P. Dom.*

[2] Eldest son of Sir John King who died in 1636, by Catharine Drury, daughter of Robert Drury, Esq., nephew to Sir Wm. Drury.

[3] See Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, iii., under King, Earl of Kingston.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] The eldest son, Sir John King, was created Lord Kingston in 1660.

[6] The following obituary notice of one of this family appeared in the *Evening Post* of Feb. 12, 1736. "On Wednesday last, died at his seat, at Ketton Hall, in Suffolk, Sir Samuel Barnardiston, Bart., whose family is one of the most ancient in the Kingdom, having flourished in a direct line for about 27 generations. They take their name from a town which they were owners of long before the Conquest, and still possess. Sir Samuel was the 6th son of Sir Thos. Barnardiston, Bart., by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert King, of Boyle, in Ireland, and the Right Hon. the Lady Viscountess Wimbledon. He married Miss Wynne, sister to the present Sir Rowland Wynne, of Nostell in Yorks, Bt., and sister to the late Lady Dering. He is succeeded in his dignity and estate by Sir John Barnardiston. Two of Sir Samuel's brothers had enjoyed the dignity before him."

"Near to this Place
lyeth interred the Body of the R^t Hon^{ble}
and most Religious
SOPHIA Viscountesse WIMBALTON,
daughter of
S^r EDWARD ZOUCH, of OKING, in Surrey,
and DOROTHEA SILKING, of an ancient
Family in the Kingdome of Denmark.
She was First Married to EDWARD Viscount
WIMBALTON, of Wimbalton, in Surrey,
by whom she had a son
ALGERNON, who dyed an infant.
Her Second Husband was S^r ROBERT KING,
of Boyl in Connaught,
in the Kingdom of Ireland,
by whom she had two sons, Robert and Edward,
who both dyed in their Infancy,
and four Daughters,
Vix, SOPHIA, who dyed an Infant,
& a Second of y^e same name who dyed an Infant
& a third SOPHIA who deceased
at two and twenty years,
and ELIZABETH Married
to S^r THOMAS BARNARDISTON
of Kedington in Suffolk, Bar^t.
She Deceased the Twelfth day of Nov^{ber}
Anno Dom: 1691,
in the 74 year of her Age.

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"Whose Sacred Remains this Memorial Conserves,
but her Transcendant Piety & Eminent Charity
have Erected for her in the Minds of Posterity
A far more lasting Monument."

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[1] In her will, made Sept. 28, 1691 (which is signed SO-WIMBALDON) she left it to the direction of her executors whether she was to be buried at Wimbledon or Ketton.

APPENDIX.

Harl. MSS. 1584, f. 17.

Instructions for the Duke of Buckingham concerning the Fleete, 1625.

Wee, finding nothing more suteable with the hono^{r} of a King then the protection of those that are oppressed, bee they Subiects, Friends, or Allies, how ill should it then become us to refuse o^{r} Protection and o^{r} assistance to o^{r} deere Brother, Sister, and Nephewes dispossessed of their Estates and dignitie, And that by force and Armes mixed wth Treaties, and under the pretext of reconciliation, and under the name of Treatie and accomodacon. Wherein wee o^{r}selves have beene witnes of the artificiall breaches of promise and open delusions, comitted by the Ennemies of o^{r} Deare Brother, as hath beene apparant likewise to o^{r} people, Att whose mediation o^{r} deere ffather of most glorious memorie brake of those Treaties, the particular of w^{ch} and their consequences wee meane not to handle here, Onelie to shew the iustnes of o^{r} reason, att the mediacon of o^{r} deere Brother and Sister, and in prosecution of o^{r} deere ffather's purpose, to prepare soe great a ffleete, and to putt in armes a proportion of land-Souldiers, w^{ch} wee doe by authenticall comission, putt under the charge, conduction and comandment of ys^{e}, or yo^{r} deputie, or deputies, wth the assistance of those councellors of warre, wee have added to yo^{rs}, viz^{t}., S^{r} Edward Cecill, knight, Marshall of the field; the Vicount Valentia, Maister of the Ordonnance; S^{r} John Ogle, Knight, Collonell Generall; the Earle of Essex, one of the Collonells; S^{r} William St. Leger, Knight, Serjeant-Major-generall; Sir Edward Conway, S^{r} Edward Horwood, S^{r} John Burgh and S^{r} Henrie Bruce, Knights, Collonells in this expedition. And doe find it iust to point out to yo^{u} the principall ends wee ayme att, W^{ch} being the protection and restitucon of o^{r} deere Brother and Sister, wee have discovered that the King of Spaine, who assisted in the extortion and oppression comitted towards o^{r} deere Brother and Sister, provided alsoe to make good the same; And therefore armed himselfe wth a great fleete to divert us by attempts upon us in Ireland, or in England, or by raysing of fforts or making new harbors upon Flanders side, to take from us that honor and dominion of the narrow seas w^{ch} have beene iuslie assured by o^{r} Predecessors, and given to them and us by all o^{r} Neighbo^{rs}. And although wee understand that the most part of their preparacons in Spaine is turned presentlie from attempting us, by pursuing the Hollanders to recover the port of Bresill, Yett we have thought fitt not to loose this great cost wee have beene att, And to perfect o^{r} defence by offence. Wee doe first give y^{o} in charge, wth all care and iudgement, to inform yo^{r} selfe and gett intelligence where the King of Spaines Shipping is, where his strengths and weaknes are upon his coasts, and where his Magazines are for provisions for the preparing, arming and victualling of his navies for the future. And wee will not doubt of yo^{r} iudicious examinations of the truth and ground of those informations w^{ch} shalbee brought yo^{u}, and of the reasonableness and facilitie of executing those provisions w^{ch} yo^{u} shall undertake by the incouragement of those intelligences. Our first ends being to destroy the shipping and provision of shipping, w^{ch} being done will (by their inabilitie to attempt us) be a suretie to us att home.

The next end being, if yo^{u} be constrained to putt on land, to burne any of the shipping, Magazines of provisions, or provisions, and shall find that that Towne or Port may be kept as a suretie to us and a thorne in the sides of the Enemie, you may then upon good Counsell and deliberation putt a convenient garrison into the place, or give us advertisement that by holding of such a place wee may the rather bring the enemie to reason.

And though that w^{ch} wee have least in contemplacon is the taking or spoylinge of a Towne, yett if yo^{u} shall find any rich Towne that w^{t}hout any great hazard yo^{u} may take, yo^{u} may doe well to remember the great cost wee have beene att in this fleete, attempt the taking of it, and being gotten to be verie carefull for the gathering together, and preserving of the riches towards the defraying the cost of this fleete, wth due consideration to the recompencing of persons of good desert and according to Martiall practise and order, and the example of other Journies in the like case. ffor the effecting of w^{ch} wee doubt not but yo^{u} will take such provident course as may answere o^{r} expectacon. And for the better order to be held in it, Wee advise you by yo^{r} selfe or yo^{r} deputie to appoint foure, or more, of the Councell of warre to be Supervisor^{s} over the gathering together and safe keeping of such riches as shalbe taken to o^{r} use and answering of o^{r} charge. Those Supervisors to be part of the Sea Officers and part of the Land. But in what attempt soever wee doe earnestlie, and straightlie require yo^{u} to keepe in yo^{r} Memorie, how carefull wee are of yo^{r} Life and the lives of o^{r} Subjects in any desperate action, either for glorie or covetousness. But upon good deliberation, the grounds being well examined, and the work found faisible. And this being a warre in part for our defence and to constraine o^{r} adversaries to reason and restitucion, Wee require yo^{u} by all meanes to forbeare the shedding of the bloud of any that attempts yo^{u} not, or resist yo^{u} not wth Armes, as women, Children and aged men and those that render themselves to o^{r} mercie and yo^{rs}.

And when yo^{u} shall have don what yo^{u} can effect upon the shipping, provisions, or the Coasts, If upon deliberate counsell yo^{u} shall thinke it good to Lye for the plate fleete, to follow the ffleetes sent to Bresill, or to send any part of o^{r} ffleete to the West Indies, or to returne any part of it home, wee leave it to yo^{r} discretion. And wee doe not forbidd yo^{u} the suffering any Officer att Sea to land, whom yo^{u} shall thinke fitt for the advantage of the land service, Yett doe wee straightlie charge yo^{u} to have a speciall care principallie to intend the suretie and safetie of o^{r} Navie, att all times, as the principall hono^{r} and Bulwarke of o^{r} Kingdome, the suretie of yo^{r} retreate and safetie for the returne of all o^{r} Armie.

Put in by consent; but with the advice of my Lo: Cecill.

And that although wee give you a strickt care of the p^{r}servation of our Navy, yet it is not our meaning that thereby you shall have any doubt to undertaking any enterprize that may be dangerous soe long as it be by the advice of the councell of warre, for that wee know very well that there is noe greate enterprize can bee undertaken without danger, but onely wee doe by theise recomend the care of our ffeete to you soe much as in you lyeth.

Instruccons for my hobl friend Sr Ed. Cecill Knt Lieutennt Gen'all & Lo. Marshall of his Mies fleete & Land forces now reddy to go to sea.

First and above al things you shal provide, that God be duly served twice a day by everie ships companie, according to the usual prayers and Liturgie of the church of England.

You shal take care to have al your companies live orderly and peaceably, & to cause everie Captain, Master, & other Officer, faithfully to perform the dutie of his place. And if anie seaman or soldier shall raise tumult or conspiracie, or comitt murder, quarrel, fight, or draw weapon to that end; or be a swearer, blasphemer, drunckerd, pilferer, or sleeper at his watch, or make noise, or not to betake him self to his place of rest after the watch is sett; or shall not keep his caban clenly, or bee discontented wth the proportion of victuals assigned unto him, or shall spoile or wast them, or anie other necessarie provisions for the shipps, or shall not keep cleane his armes, or shall go ashore wthout leave, or shall be found gwiltie of anie other crime or offence, you shal use due severitie in the punishment and reformation thereof according to the known orders and customs of the sea.

You shall require everie Captaine to take from time to time iust and particular accompts of the stores of al Botswains & Carpenters of the ships; examining their Recepts, Expenses & Remains, not suffering anie unnecessarie wast to bee made of their provisions, nor anie woorke to bee donne wch shal not bee needful & be directed and allowed by the said Captaine uppon advise wth his Master, Botswains, or other Officers of the shipp, to bee necessarie for the service. You shal cause every Captain to take like accompts of their pursers & stewards of their victuals, & provide for the goodnes & preservation thereof wthout wast, not suffering anie suspected person to bring fresh victuals aboord, wthout due examination how and whence it was taken, & due survey of the qualitie & holesomnes thereof.

You shal require the said Captains to take like accompts of their master-gonners for their shott, powder, munition and al maner of stores contained in their indentures. And not suffer anie part thereof to bee sould, imbezeled or wasted, nor anie peece of Ordinance to bee shott of wthout their own direction; keeping also true notes of the numbers & kinds that they may thereby examin their accompts, w^{ch} are not to bee allowed in the Office of the Ordinance, wthout their approbation under their hands. You shal suffer no boate to goe of for the shore or otherwise, wthout the Captains special leave & uppon necessarie cawse to fetch water, or some other needful things. And then you shal send the Botswaine, Cockswaine & one Quarter-master & such an orderly ging [gang] as they shall make choise of, & for whose good careage and speedie return they will answer.

You shal require everie Captain, Master & others to performe unto you due respect & obedience; not taking the wind of you at anie time, if they be not forced to do it, but keeping companie wth you, as much as may be; speaking wth you everie morning to know your pleasure & to salute you, if the time do permitt, and coming aboord you as often as you shal put out your flag of councel on the starboord quarter of your shippe, & casting and waighing anchor, when you anchor & waigh, & shal to that end shoot of a warning peece, taking care that they ride not in the wake one of another, and yet as neer together as wth order and saftie they may, everie one keeping ranck under the colors of his squadron.

If you saile by night, you shal carie two lights & your Viceadmiral one, & shall beare such saile, as the whole fleet may keep about you, everie one bearing the same course wthout scattering or falling fowle one of another; & if mistie weather, or tempest, shall happen to devide you, you shal give such direction that the scattered may recover the fleet in such a height as you shal assign. And if any ship spring a leake, spend a mast, or bee in anie distress by fier or other wise, they shall shoot of [f] a peece or two, that other ships may take warning & hasten to give healp.

If anie shippe or pinnace shal discover anie shipping at sea, they are to give notice thereof by shooting of a peace, & letting faul their maintopsail, as manie times as there bee ships; & if they appear to bee enimies, by shooting twise or thrise to warn the whole fleet to put in order for fight or pursute.

If anie of your fleet chance to meet anie vessel from the enemies coast, they are to be directed to bring the masters thereof unto you, that by them you may be informed of the enimies state & proceedings.

But in anie wise you are not to suffer anie violence, wrong, or interruption to bee given by anie of your companie to anie of his M^{ies} frends and allies; nor shal permit anie man to go aboord than for whose faire & honest careage you wil not answer; nor shal wthout plain & cleare proof of prohibited goods, or belonging directly to the king of Spain's subjects, take, sease, or stay anie vessel, or anie thing therein contained, as you wil answer it at your peril.

If you meet anie shippe of his M^{ties} allies Laden wth anie provisions of victuals, cordage, masts, anchors, or Spanish iron, you are not to take anie of them without agreeing for them in frendly maner & giving your bil for paiment for the same.

If you descrie anie fleet of enimies at sea, you shal first ply to get the wind; and after you the whole fleet in the due order of their squadrons shal do the like. And when you come to joyne battel, no shippe shal p^{r}sume to assaile the enemies Admiral or Vice-admiral but only you & your Vice-admiral if you bee hable to reach them. And the other ships are to match them selves as æqually as they can, and to succour one another as cawse shal require, Not wasting their powder at smale vessels or victualers, nor shooting a farre of, nor till they com up side to side.

You shal not suffer beds of straw, nor anie matter easie to take fier to be aboord in time of fight, nor shal permit anie powder to bee carried up and down in open barils, or in budg-barils, but shal comand the Gonners to charge al their Ordinance wth cartouses, w^{ch} may be kept covered. And for prevention of firewoorks you are to cawse vessels of urine to bee in readiness in everie ship. And shal enjoyne everie ship carpenter to observe carefully in the fight, if anie shott chance to fale neere the bulging places of the ships & ever to be readie to stoppe them wth salt hydes.

Before fight you are to cawse & see al things are put in order & then incourage your companies, & direct them not to boord the enimies ships til the smoke of the Ordinance bee cleared up, nor til their men above hatches bee slaine or beaten of.

If anie prise or shippe bee taken from the enimie you must give careful order that no bulk bee broken up, but that the hatches be p^{re}sently spiked up, that al under the Overlope [Orlop-deck] may be p^{re}served for the kings use, & what is above hatches (treasure excepted) may be parted indifferently amongst the marinars & soldiers, & the captins also distributed wth their chests & bagage according to the ancient orders of the sea.

If anie of the enimies shippes be discovered to bee a grownd in anie harborowgh or road, so as they can not be set of, but by boats, then as you begin to man your boats for that service al the rest must do the like, everie one careing wth him a boat anchor, a grapnel & a warp. And you must also take order that the ships of least drawght, ride as neere as may bee to succour both the boats & barges when they are sent for service or to land men.

The cheif intention of this voyage being the weakening and dishabling of the enimie in his seaforces & trade; by taking & destroying his ships, gallies, fregats & vessels of al sorts; by spoiling his provisions in his magasins & port towns; by depriving him of seamen, marinars & gonners; by not suffring him to gather head from anie part; by intercepting his fleets either going out or returning; & by takeing in, and possessing some such place, or places, in the manie of his dominions, as may support and countenance our successive fleets, you shal therefore direct & govern your proceedings & services to theis ends. And shal not devide your fleet, or companies, for anie other adventure or purchase, (*sic*) except when you find so little strength and defence uppon his coasts, that you may safely assaile him in divers places at once. And therefore you shall circumspectly vew al his coasts & looke into everie port; & wher you find ships, gallies or other vessels or provisions, you shall with good advise and courage, & wth gods assistance, do your best to destroy them, and to take and overthrow al such as shall attempt to ioyne or consort wth them.

And becawse al particulars for sea and land service can not be limited wth spetial instructions, wthout leaving manie things to the wisdom, providence and good menageing of the comanders in al such occurences, & generally in al things w^{ch} are not, or shall not bee expressly directed, you are to use your own best judgment & discretion, following the advice of such a council as is assigned unto you. That having your own experience & resolution fortified by the consent of at least the greater part of the said councelers, you may give the better accompt of your actions, so as the success may be the more hopeful for the repressing of the ambition of that overgrowing power w^{ch} hath both threatened & disturbed al Christendom, & for the obtaining & settling of such a happie peace as both his M^{ty} & his late father of renowned memorie have long and carefully sowght after, and as may tend to the honor of God, the p^{r}servation of true religion, the honor of his M^{ty} and the saftie of his kingdoms.

You shal cawse a iournal to be kept and shal advertise mee from time to time of al your proceedings, and of al things you thinck fit in your wisdom for mee to know, or make known to his M^{ty}. And so to Gods blessing I comend your saftie & good success.

Fr^{m} the Cortt att Holbury 26th Aug. 1625.

[From Domestic State Papers. Charles I. vol. v. No. 87.]

King Charles's first instructions to Sir Edward Cecill, setting forth the objects contemplated by the expedition against Spain, and in what manner he was to proceed towards this accomplishment. Incomplete draft; undated, but probably Aug^{t} 26th, 1625. From Domestic State Papers, Chas. I. vol. v., No. 86.

Wee find nothinge more suteable, wth the hono^{r} of a kinge, then the proteccon of those that are oppressed, bee they Subjects, freinds, or Allyes. How ill should it then become Us to refuse o^{r} proteccon and o^{r} assistance to o^{r} deere Brother and Sister, and o^{r} Nephewes dispossessed of their estates and dignities. And that by force and armes mixed wth treaties, and under the p^{r}text of reconciliacon and the name of treaty and accommodacon. Wherein Wee o^{r}selves have ben Witnes of the artificiall breaches of promise, and open delusions comitted by the enemies of o^{r} deere Brother, as hath ben apparent likewise to o^{r} people. At whose mediacon o^{r} deere ffather of most glorious memory brake of those treaties. The particular of w^{ch}, and their circumstances and consequences wee meane not to handle here. Only to shewe the justness of o^{r}

reason at the mediacon of o^{r} deere Brother and Sister, and in prosecucon of o^{r} deere ffathers purpose to prepare soe greate a ffleete, and to put in armes a proportion of Land Souldiers, W^{ch} wee doe by authenticall comission put under the charge, conduccon, and commandement of yo^{r} or yo^{r} Deputie, or Deputies wth the assistance of those councellors of Warr wee have added to yo^{r} viz^{t}.

* * * * * * *

And doe find just to point out to yo^{w} the principall ends wee ayme at, w^{ch} beinge, the proteccon and restitucon of o^{r} deere Brother and Sister. Wee have discovered that the kinge of Spaine, who assisted in the extortion and oppression comitted towards o^{r} deere Brother and Sister, provided alsoe to make good the same, And therefore armed himself wth a great ffleete, to divert us by attempts upon us in Ireland, or in England, or by raysinge of ffortes, or makinge newe Harbours upon Flanders syde, to take from us that hono^{r}, and Dominion of the Narrowe Seas, W^{ch} have ben assumed justly by o^{r} Predecesso^{rs}, and given to them and us by all o^{r} Neighbours. And although wee understand that the most part of their p^{r}paracons in Spaine is turned p^{r}sently from attemptinge us, by poursuinge the Hollanders to recover the Port of Brasill. Yet wee have thought good Not to loose this great cost wee have ben at. And to perfect o^{r} defence by offence wee doe first give yo^{u} in charge, wth all care and Judgment, to informe yo^{r}self, and gett intelligence where the kinge of Spaines shipping is, Where his strength and weaknes upon his coast are and Where his Magasins are for provisions for the p^{r}paringe, arminge, and victuallinge of his Navie for the future. And wee will not doubt of yo^{r} judicious examinacon of the truth and ground of those informacons, w^{ch} shall be brought yo^{u}, and of the reasounableness, and facilitie of executinge those proposicons, w^{ch} yo^{w} shall undertake by the incouragment of those intelligences. Our first ends beinge to destroy the shippinge, and provision of shippinge, w^{ch} beinge done will (by dishableing them to attempt us) bee a suretie to us at home.

If yo^{u} bee constrayned to put on land to burne anie of the shippinge, Magasins of provisions, or provisions, and shall find that that Towne or Port where such provisions are, may bee kept as a suretie to us, and a thorne in the sydes of Ennemye, yo^{u} may then upon good councell and deliberacon, put a convenient

Guarrison into the place, or give us advertisement, that by holdinge of such a place wee may the rather bringe the ennemy to reason. And though that w^{ch} wee have least in contemplacon is the takinge or spoylinge of a towne, yet if yo^{w} shall find anie rich Towne, that wthout any great hazard yo^{u} may take, Yo^{w} may doe well to remember the great cost wee have ben at in this ffleete, attempt the takinge of the Towne, and being gotten, bee very carefull for the gatheringe togeather and p^{r}servinge of the riches towards the defrayinge the coste of the ffleate, Wth due consideracon to the recompensinge of persons of good desert, and accordinge to martiall practice and order, and the example of other Jorneis in the like case. For the effecting of w^{ch} wee doubt not but yo^{w} will take such a provident course, as may answeare o^{r} expectacon. And for the better order to be held in it, Wee advise yo^{w} by yo^{r}self or yo^{r} deputie to appoint fower or more of the councell of Warr to be supervisors over the gatheringe togeather and safe keepinge of such riches as shall bee taken to o^{r} use, and for answearinge o^{r} charge; Those Supervisors to be part sea and part Land officers. But in what attempt soever yo^{w} undertake, Wee doe earnestly and straitly require yo^{w} to keepe in yo^{r} memory howe carefull wee are of y^{r} life and the lives of o^{r} Subjects, And not to venture yo^{r} owne person, nor the Lives of o^{r} Subjects in anie desperate accon either for glory or coveteousness, but, upon good deliberacon, Worke [being] found faisible.

This beinge a Warr in part for o^{r} defence, and to constraine o^{r} Adversaries to reason and restitucon, wee require yo^{u} by all meanes to forbeare the sheddinge of the blood of anie that attempts yo^{w} not, or resists yo^{u} not wth Armes, as Women, Children, and aged men, and those that render themselves to o^{r} mercie and yo^{rs}.

And when yo^{w} shall have done what yo^{w} can effect upon the shippinge, provisions, or Coasts, If upon deliberate Councell, yo^{w} shall thinke it good to lye for the plate ffleete, to followe the ffleetes sent to Brasill, or to send anie part of o^{r} ffleete to the West Indies, or to retorne any part of it home, Wee leave it to yo^{r} discretion. And wee doe not forbidd yo^{u} the sufferinge any officer at Sea to land whom yo^{w} shall thinke fitt for the advantage of the Land service. Yett doe wee straitly charge yo^{w} to have a speciall care, principally to intend the suerty and safetie of o^{r} Navie at all times, as the principall hono^{r} and Bulwarke of o^{r}

Kingdome, the suertie of yo^{r} retraite, and safetie for the retorne of all o^{r} Army.

[Unaddressed, undated, and unsigned.]

Endorsed :—" Instructions for the fleete going towards Spaine."

Mr. Glanville's Reasons against his beeinge imployed for a Secretary at Warr.

[Dated in pencil in a modern hand against the passage commencing " His coming to Plymouth," Sept^{r} 18th, 1625.]

Hee is a meere Lawyer unqualified for th'imploym^{t} of a Secretary; his handwriting is so bad that hardly any but his oune clarke canne reade itt, who should not bee accquainted w^{t}h all thinges that may occurre in such a service.

He hath a wife and 6 children, and his certaine meanes without his practise is not sufficient to maintaine them.

He sitteth at 60^{li} rent p^{r}ann for a howse in Chanc'y Lane, not worth him in effect anie thing but for the Comodiousnes of his practise, however hee is to hold it att that rate for 16 or 17 yeares to come.

His wife and children ar dispsed into 4 sev'all counties, wth sev'all freindss, in Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Glouc'shire, and Devonshire during his sicknes, and hee cannott in this straight, and upon so short warninge, setle his affaires for such a iournie.

His goods and evidenc' and th'evidences of div's of his clientes, wth manie breviattss and noates of instruccon^{s} conc'ning their cawses, are in his studdy att Lincolns Inne and howse in Chanc'y Lane, w^{ch} hee cannott well dispose nor distribuit in a short tyme, nor can now safely repaire to the place where they are.

Hee is int'essed in sev'all recordershipps and ingaged in divers cawses of importance, w^{ch} affaires and businesses, if he desert, much preiudice may thereby grow to very manie.

His mother, an aged Lady, who relies much upon his Councell and cofort, will become herby much weakened and disconsolate.

His practise is now as good as most men in the kingdome of his tyme, hee having followed the studdy these 22 yeares, and the practise of the Lawe these 15 yeares, wth as much constancie and painfullnes as anie man. And if hee should now bee putt into another course, though butt for a while, itt must neede Deprive him of the fruites of all his labours, for his clientes beeing by his absence once setled uppon others, he shall never bee able to recontinue them againe. His coming to Plymouth att this tyme was only to attend the service of his Recordershippe there, and to assist the Maio^{r} and his brethren to intertaine his Matie, w^{ch} service hee hath pformed accordingly.

Endorsed :—

"Mr. Glanvile's reasons against his beinge imployed in this sea voyage."

Lansdown MSS., 844, f. 309.

Instructions given by S^{R} Edward Cecyll, Kn^{T}, Baron of Putney and Viscount Wimbledon, Admirall of the ffleete, Lieutenant Generall and Marshall of his Maties land fforces, now readie to goe to Sea, to be dailie performed by all the Commanders and their Companies, Mrs., and other inferior Officers, both by Sea and Land, for the better Goverm^{T} of his Maties ffleete. Dated in the Sound of Plymouth, aboard his Maties good shipp the Ann Royal, the third of October, 1625.

1. ffirst, that above all things you shall provide that God bee dulie served twice every day, by all the land and Sea Companies in the shipp, according to the usuall prayers and Lythurgie of the Church of England, and shall gett a discharge every watch, w^{t}h the singing of a Psalme and Prayer usual at Sea.

2. You shall keepe y^{r} Companies from swearing, blaspheming, drunkennes, dicing, carding, cheating, picking and stealing, and the like disorders.

3. You shall take care to have all the Companies live orderlie and peaceablie, and shall charge the officers faithfullie to performe the office and dutie of his or their places; And if any Seaman or Souldier shall raise tumult, mutinie, or conspiracie, or commit murther, quarrell, fight, or draw weapon to that end, or bee a sleeper at his watch, or make noise, or not beetake himselfe to his place of rest after his watch is out, or shall not keepe his cabine cleanelie, or bee discontented w^{t}h the proportion of victualls assigned unto him, or shall spoile or waste them, or any other necessarie provisions in the shipp, or shall not keepe cleane his Armes, or shall goe a shoure w'hout leave, or shall bee found

guiltie of any other Cryme or offence, you shall use due severitie in the punishm^{t} and reformation thereof, according to the knowne orders and custome of the sea.

4. ffor any Capitall or heynous offence that shall be comitted in y^{r} shipp by the land or Seamen, the Land and Sea Comanders shall ioyne togither to take a due examination hereof in writing, and shall acquaint mee therew^{t}h, to the end I may proceed in iudgemen^{t} according to the qualitie of the offence.

5. Noe Sea Captaine shall meddle w^{t}h the punishing any of the Land souldiers, neyther shall the Land Comanders meddle w^{t}h the punishment of the Seamen.

6. You shall w^{t}h the Mr. take a particular account of the scores of the Boatswaines and Carpenters of the shipp, examining their receits, expence, and remaines, not suffering any unnecessarie waste to be made of their p'visions, or any worke to bee done w^{c}h shall not bee needful for the service.

7. Ye shall every weeke take the like account of the purser and steward, of the quantitie and qualitie of Victualls that are spent, and p'vide for the pservation thereof w^{t}hout any superfluous expence. And if any suspected p'sons bee in that office, for the wasting and consuming of victualls, you shall remove him and acquaint me herew^{t}h, and shall give me a pticular account from time to time of the expence, goodnes, quantitie, and qualitie of y^{r} victualls.

8. Y^{u} shall likewise take a particular account of the Mr. Gunner for the shott, powder, and munition, and all manner of stores contained in his Indentures, and shall not suffer any part hereof to be sould, embesled, or wasted, nor any piece of ordonance to be shot of w^{t}hout directions, keeping an account of every severall shot in the shipp, to the end I may know how the powder spends.

9. You shall suffer no boate to goe from y^{r} shipp w^{t}hout speciall leave, and upon necessarie cause, to fetch water or some other needful thinge, and then you shall send some of the officers or men of trust for whose good carriage and speedie return you will answer.

10. You shall have a speciall care to p'vent the dreadful accident of fire, and let no candels bee used w^{t}hout lanthornes, nor any at all in or about the powder roome. Let no Tobaccho

bee taken betwene decks or in Cabins, or in any part of the shipp, but upon the forecastle or upper, where shall stand tubbs of water to throw the ashes into, and to emptie their pipes.

11. Let no man give offence to his officer, nor strike his equall or Inferiour aboard, and let mutinous p'sons be punished in most severe manner.

12. Let no man depart out of the shipp wherin he is first entered w^{t}hout leave of his Comander, nor let any Captain give him entertainme^{t} after he is lysted, upon paine of the severitie of the law in that case.

Lansdown MSS., 844, f. 314.

ORDERS AND INSTRUCTIONS TO BEE OBSERVED BY ALL THE REGIMENTS.

1. The first and best order is to have prayers twice a day or one at least in every Companie.

2. To have all Captaines to have leading staves, and a Targett, and to ly upon their guard for the better ordering of the officers and souldiers by example.

3. To have every night a Captaine of the watch in every Regiment; if the Companies lye much asunder, then to doe it by those Captaines that have the watch or guard.

4. To have every night a Lieutenant Colonell, or a Serjeant Major, to goe the round both day and night. If the Companies lye farr asunder then to have two or more to do the dutie.

5. All the Lieutenants must be prepared with their Armes, partisan, and Pystoll.

6. Every Ensigne w^{t}h his Colours, Gorget, and Pystoll.

7. Every Sergeant w^{t}h his Halbert and Pistoll.

8. That every Companie watch every fourth day and night, the better to keepe souldiers in action, and not to make it strange when wee come before an Enemie.

9. Every Companie must bee furnished w^{t}h two good drummes, and drummers, and to comand the drummers to have alwayes their eyes upon their Captaines, that they may know when to beate and when not.

10. The souldiers ought to observe all the beatings of the

drumme, especially when he is to march, the first being to make him readie, the second to put on his Armes, the third to draw forth to the place of Armes.

11. A drumme is never to beate forth an alarme, but eyther a call, or a march to avoide confusion, especiallie amongst new souldiers.

12. If there bee an alarme, it must bee taken as silentlie as may bee, no soldiers to speake, but his officer, for a souldier is to obey and not to speake.

Harl. MSS., 3638, f.122.

Endorsed :—"ffor the ffleete. Anno Domini, 1625."

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE ADMIRALLS FOR FIVE IN A MESSE.

Whereas by the contrarietie of the wind, wee may be putt to a further expence of victualls then wee are provided for, and being at this time farr from any place whereby our wants may bee supplied, to prevent such inconveniences as may hereby ensue, These shall be to require y^{u} forthwith, upon the receipt hereof, to give p'sent order, that to every messe there may bee five, untill wee shall be better enabled to make further provisions. And this shall bee y^{r} warrant. Dated this xiith of October, 1625.

E. WIMBLEDON.

INSTRUCTIONS.

The small time wee have beene at Sea hath made me take notice of the disorderlie sayling from the Admiralls of y^{r} severall squadrons; yu may p'ceive how the Dutch squadron keepe themselves entire and a part. These are, therefore, to require yu to fall into your owne squadron, to attend such directions as shall come from y^{r} Admirall, and not to depart w'thout lycence from him or his officers, to make an entire body to sayle in the day time in faire and cleer weather, a legue or more from another squadron, and towards night to draw neere to follow lights in y^{r} severall places, and to take an especiall care that yu doe not chace but upon great possibilitie, for hindring our speed and loosing our time while the wind is faire, and that yu in the day time beare all the sayle yu can to bring us to the place desired, and if any chace it shall be two or three of the best saylours in y^r^ Squadron. Dated the 13th of October.

E. Wimbledon.

Yu are to p'use this and the other articles
every day to bee expert in them.

Harl. MSS., 3638, f. 123.

My lord of Wimbledon's instructions for the ordering and disposing of the Shipps to meete the West Indian ffleete.

By reason of the difficultie of the Journey and variation of the weather, wee being now come into the latitude of thirtie seaven degrees, it is thought fitt to add these Instructions, that all the ffleete may take notice to provide accordinglie.

The resolution houlds to lye 60 leagues off from the land; and for that it is conceived the West Indian ffleete may as well haule in for the Rocke, as for the South Cape, wee doe intend to ply betwene the degrees for the latitudes of 36 and 37, and not to goe further to the Southward then the degree of 36.

If the wind be Easterlie, I would have the squadrons lye 2 or 3 leagues distant one from another upon a north or south line, or soe face as wee may not loose sight of one another, being conceived that these foure squadrons will spread near a degree in latitude.

If the wind be northerlie wee will lye upon a north and south line, or soe face as wee will not loose sight of one another, and ply to windward keeping our selves in the latitude aforesaid.

If the wind bee northerlie or southerlie wee will keepe our selves in the distance of longitude as aforesaid, and strive to keepe our selves in the latitudes aforesaid.

It is also intended that every morning all the ffleete shall strike a hull, and there ly an hour or two to looke out what they can see, and then set sayle.

As the squadron spread, soe may each shipp in every squadron, some ahead, some astearne, some to windward, some to leeward, to bee neere and readie for any chace in the morning.

It shall bee lawfull for every shipp and shipps in every squadron to undertake any possible chase, giving some signe to the rest of the ffleete by shooting of one peece, or as many peices as there bee shipps, or by brazling up his maynesaile or foresayle together; if it bee a ffleete, or otherwise, by hoysing and striking his maintopsaile and foretopsailes, if there bee cause, that the rest of the shipps may take notice that he chaseth.

If you discover any of our owne squadrons and give chase unto them, the chased shall strike his foretopsayle, and maine topsaile and brayle up his mainsayle and foresayle, whereby it may be knowne that he is of our ffleete, to the end that wee may not chase one another.

In meeting w^th the West Indian ffleete, or other enemies, yu shall assaile, and by all meanes endeavour to take them by boarding or otherwise, especiallie the merchants shipps, And for all shipps seized and taken, no man shall presume to break hould or bulke, or pillage but in case of fight, and that onelie betweene the decks, but shall bring them to mee and my officers.

Lastlie, I doe hereby stricklie charge and command all Cap^{ts} and Mrs to speake w^{t}h the Admirall of his squadron every morning, and to keepe themselves in their severall devisions, and not to depart but by license of their chiefe Commanders as for chase, and whosoever shall neglect his dutie herein for want of looking out night or day, and doe not observe these orders, he shall bee dismissed and discharged of his office and place w^{t}h disgrace and the same conferred upon some other.

E. WIMBLEDON.

Aboard the *Ann Royall*,
The 9th of Nov., 1625.

LIST OF THE OFFICERS WHO SERVED IN THE CADIZ EXPEDITION OF 1625. (From the list given at the end of Glanville's *Journal of the Voyage*, published for the Camden Society in 1883.)

1. His Ex^{cle} Regimente:—Captaines S^{r} John Prode, Seriant Maior Thornix,[1] Capt. Gifford,[2] Knolles, Capt. Elpheston, Capt.

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[1] Sir Thomas Thornhurst. See sums claimed by him for his services at Cadiz.—*S. P. Dom.* xliii. 39.

[2] See mention of this officer in the postcript to Lord Wimbledon's letter, of May 1, 1627, in Chapter VII.

Paddon, Capt. Reynelles, Capt. Kirton, Capt. Countrey, Capt. Preston. Leiutenantes Bromingham,[1] Prowde,[2] Pottes, Nevell, Tremaine, Colwell, Whitehead, Donne, Brett,[3] Lee. Ensignes Owen, Russell, Barsey, Greene, Moore, Pennannt, ffearne, Otby, Warde, Bagg.

2. Lord Marshall's Regimente :—His Companie.—Captaines S^r^ George Blundell, ffarrer,[4] Croftes, Christmas, Crispe, Paprill, Bridges, Gore, Edw. Leigh, Anth. Leigh. Leiutenantes Powell, Booth, Basset, Grimshaw, Cheverton, Wormewood, Burthogg, Horner, Browne, ffelton,[5] Talbot. Ensignes Hawkins, Marbery, Carlile, Halls, Dodson, Lindsey, Disson, Carewe, Pagitt, Dedham, Bagnall.

3. M^r^ of the Ordinance Regimente :—His Companie—Captaines Sprye,[6] ffennethorp, Hammond, Brett,[7] Taylor, ffisher, Hackett, Bruce, Porter, Tolkarne. Leiutenantes ffrodisham, Searle, Judge, Bowyer, Appleyard, Wilton, Brooke, Bemersyde, Reynolds, Mathewes, Barnett. Ensignes Bowyer, Greenfeild, Bennett, Markham, Appleyard, Leigh, Ogle, Bullock, ffullerton, Veale, Ogle.

4. Colonell Generall's Regimente :—His Companie—Captaines S^r^ Thomas Yorke,[8] Hacklett,[9] Carleton, Tucke, Hone, Shugborough,[10] Alley, Crispe, Leake, Bowles, jun^r^. Leiutenantes ffrogmorton, Hynton, Hacklett, Ottey, Spring, Barington,

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[1] Slain in the attack on Puntal. The senior lieutenant bore the rank of lieutenant and captain, hence this officer's designation as "Captain" in Glanville's *Journal.*

[2] Slain in the attack on Puntal.

[3] One of the duke's kindred, but which of the many of this name does not appear.

[4] Colonel Robert Farrer. He served at Cadiz, Rhé, and Rochelle. Was promised a baronetcy by Buckingham, but his name does not appear in any list of baronets.

[5] John Felton, the assassin of Buckingham.

[6] Sir Harry Spry—this officer belonged to Lord Wimbledon's regiment in the Low Countries, and was employed in the Isle of Rhé expedition in 1627.

[7] Probably Captain Thomas Brett, to whom the duke gave a captain's commission in Courtenay's regiment in the Isle of Rhé expedition, and who was afterwards Deputy-Governor of Portsmouth to Lord Wimbledon.

[8] Killed at the landing of the troops in the Isle of Rhé

[9] Colonel Philip Hakluyt. Served at Cadiz, Rhé, and Rochelle.

[10] Died of wounds in the Isle of Rhé, August 16, 1627.—Symonds to Nicholas, August 25.—*S. P. Dom.*

Calvert, Quarles, Jarman, Goodridge, Vernon. Ensignes Pelham, Trye, Gwynne, Kelke, Wattes, Smith Ban-Leigh, Heigham, Pottes, Mathewes, Jennison.

5. Serieant Ma^{r} Gener^{l} Regimente :—His Companie—Captaines Gibson, Fryer,[1] Courtenay,[2] Richards, Mathews, Mostyne, Reade, Bowles, sen^{r}, Bucke, Moldisworth. Leiutenantes Judd, Abraham, Stevens, Prideaux, Grove, Powell, Warde, Cole, Sherrock, Coop. Ensignes Whitney, Hall, Spilling, Trefuse, Bockard, Parker, Hookes, Maddison, Bowles, Breerton, Sidenham.

6. Colonell Riche's Regimente :—Captaines S^{r} John Ratcliff,[3] Standishe,[4] Stewart, Grey, Skelton, Leighton, Waller, Corke, Staverton, St. Leger. Leiutenantes Rich, Leigh, Drury, Waller, Crispe, Grover, Gray, Williams, Brand, Parry, Chadwell, Holdham. Ensignes ffrith, Coitt, Hunkes, Bowyer, Ramscroft, Story, Price, Dudley, Jarves, Wormwood, Wright.

7. Colonell Conwey's Regimente :—His Companie—Captaines Willoughby,[5] Clapham, Pelham, Rainsford,[6] Williams, Alford,[7] Goring, Dixon, Hammond, Ogle. Leiutenantes Dawson, Chaworth, Browne, Powell Morg, Huson, Heigham, Shelley, Moore, Welcombe, Markham, Plesington. Ensignes Pinchbeake, Ottey, Welles, Kettleby, Bartlett, Cross, Hudson, Maxey, Ayres, Netherton, Browne.

8. Colonell Horwood's Regimente :—His Companie—S^{r} Tho.

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[1] Sir Thomas Fryer. Served at Cadiz, Rhé, and Rochelle. Buckingham was stabbed by Felton when stooping down to speak to Col. Fryer in Capt. Mason's house on August 23rd, 1628.

[2] Captain Wm. Courtenay, of Lord Wimbledon's regiment in the Low Countries. He was knighted in 1627, and made colonel of a regiment employed in the expedition to the Isle of Rhé.

[3] Sir John Radclyffe, of Ordshall Co. Lancaster, Knt., born 1581, married Alice, eldest daughter of Sir John Byron, of Newstead, Notts, and had issue. Sir John was slain in the Isle of Rhé, Oct. 29, 1627.

[4] Served in the Isle of Rhé expedition with the rank of serjeant-major, and was slain in the retreat.

[5] Sir Francis Willoughby, son and heir of Sir Percival Willoughby, of Wollaton Hall, Notts. Lord Middleton is Sir Francis Willoughby's direct descendant and representative.

[6] Afterwards Sir Francis Rainsford. This officer was called from the Low Countries to serve in the Cadiz expedition.

[7] This officer had previously served in Ireland.

Moreton,[1] Watkins, Jackson, Abraham,[2] Gibthorp, Gibthorpe, Heatley, Dowglas, Seymour, Masterson, Morgan. Leiutenantes Alcock, Dawson, Humfreys, Tillier, Lewkin, Bridges, Briges, Anderson, Woodward, Westcott, Love, Games. Ensignes Arkeld, Betnam, Stewart, Stanton, Champnowne, Lucas, Lucas, Hunt, Saltingstone, ffoscue, Stevens, Eden.

9. Colonel Burgh's Regimente :—His Companie—Captaines S^r^ Alex^r^ Brett, S^r^ Edw. Hanley,[3] Bettes, Terrett, Hill, Bond, Lindsey, Grove, Lindsey, Greenfeild,[4] Parkinson. Leiutenantes Jeffereys, Tourney, Wattes, Yates, Atchinson, Outridd, Searles, Jones, Dodsworth, Jones, Pollard, Long. Ensignes ffanshawe, Bluddell, Watnam, Gibes, ffolliatt, Knolles, ffoy, Thorpe, Cludd, Thorp, Ayleworth.

10. Colonell Bruce's[5] Regimente :—His Companie—Captaines S^r^ Hen. Killigrewe, Scott, Wood, Cornewell, Gilpin, Ashley, Glynne, Meutus, Norton, Yates. Leiutenantes St. Paule, Broadribbe, Cowley, Saundilance, Coffin, ffoxe, Honniwood, Powell, Bathurst, Jarvis, Houghton. Ensignes Gibbes, Bruce, Boswell, Willoughby, Lowe, Vaughan, Robinson, Hobbes, Williams, Webb, Green.

Lansd. MSS., 844, f. 315.

MY LORD OF WIMBLEDON'S OPINION OF THE COMMODITIES AND DISCOMMODITIES OF UNDERTAKING AND RELEEVINGE ROCHELL, 1627.

That when his Matie shall bee forced to make a warr agt. ffrance he can not have a greater advantage, or a better cause, then to assist his owne religion that is here professed, and is now in danger to bee extinguished, and the rather because all those of the Contrarie doe assist one another to overthrow ours. Besides his rightful title and claime to that kingdome his Matie was made a warrant & suretie in the last articles for the peace, wh. was established betwene the ffrench king and the religion. Therefore he can not have better cause, for it maketh the warr both iust & necessarie.

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[1] This officer was one of the witnesses of Buckingham's assassination, and protected Felton from being killed by the enraged bystanders.

[2] Slain in the Isle of Rhé expedition.

[3] Sir Edward Hanley (or Halley?) greatly distinguished himself in the retreat from the Isle of Rhé, and was slain.

[4] Sir Richard Greenville, mentioned in Chapter VIII.

[5] Sir Henry Bruce was made a gent. of the Privy Chamber to Charles I. in 1629.

That his Matie is invited hereunto by Conscience and Pollicie. By Conscience, they being of the same religion. By Pollicie, for that if he releeveth Rochell, he shall have as great an advantage, as one king can have of another, for it is an extraordinarie strong place both by nature and situation, wch are the strongest points of ffortification, having defended it selfe miraculouslie for a long time, against a great Kingdome, and wthout much assistance, wherin God hath blessed them wonderfullie, that have governed here wth such understanding and constancie, ffor all the strength of nature and Art is nothing wthout a prudent vigilant government, for that his Matie hath more reason both for God's service & in pollicie, to undertake it (being urged thereunto) then any king can have. And it is much more Commoditie to releeve then winne a strong place, and it will advantage his Matie every way as well to make an honble peace, as to continue warr.

That since his Matie is urged to a warr, it will bee a greater advantage & Commoditie to have occasion to breed his subiects souldiers, & to recover that ignorance & poorenes that our long peace hath beene cause off. ffor there is noe kingdome can thinke it selfe safe wthout the practise and knowledge of warr. And that peace hath soe beesotted us, that as wee are altogither ignorant, soe are wee soe much the more, as not sensible of that defect, ffor wee thinke if wee have men & shipps our kingdome is safe, as if men were borne souldiers, wch mistaking maketh the King of Spaine scorne us, that findeth his experience the greatest reason to make his growing greatness prosper.

ffor he that knoweth the mysterie of warr knoweth it to bee of that necessitie, & that there is few that obteineth it, but when he is soe oulde, that eyther he is not able to practise it, or death doth hinder him; hath not the lacke of practise almost lost all Germanie? wch is likelie to bee made the greatest Conquest that ever was made. Hath not that Conquest beene before attempted ther often, and by the greatest Prince and souldier that ever was, wch was Charles the fifte, and yet wthstoode not by those wch were no souldiers, but by those wch had practised the art of warr.

Now peace hath made men so ignorant and unskilfull that they loose whole kingdoms w^{t}hout striking a stroake; ffor there is no such Cowardlines as in ignorant Cowards, nor nothing that fortifyeth courage like knowledge. Did not the twelve years Truce endanger the whole estate of the Lowe Countries that before had the practise so certaine? Will the lowe Countries part w^{t}h any of their ould souldiers? Noe, not to his Matie, though they bee his owne subiects. And is there any thing hath made the King of Spaine soe great but his ould souldiers? These reasons and many more I could alleadge to show that his Matie is not unhappie to have occasion to make warr, by w^{c}h he may breed his subiects souldiers againe. Though there are many that thinke, soe they have money enough, numbers of men, and store of shippinge, they thinke themselves & their state safe enough. But they must account all their materialls but dead bodies, ffor as a body can not stirr w^{t}hout life, so materialls can not fight by themselves, but must have experience w^{c}h is the life of materialls. Was there ever known a king to prosper in warr, that was not furnished w^{t}h souldiers of experience? I could wish no greater harme to the King of Spaine but to make a long peace, and hereby bee out of an Armie of expert souldiers as his Matie is. Is it not the losse of many kingdomes?

I, [aye] and in these last dayes, there bee also that say (when they see any souldiers kept in garrison to bee exercised in the winter time), what should wee doe w^{t}h this Charge? if they were to fight w^{t}h them they would not say soe. Therefore in other kingdomes, as ffrance and Spaine, the Nobilitie are bred in their youth to know what warr is, and then they will not say when the king is in warr, what shall wee doe w^{t}h these souldiers to bee a charge to the Countrie? as if they would save money and loose the Kingdome, especially when they may remember how this Kingdome hath beene foure times Conquered (though an Island), and never for want of money or men, but souldiers. Soe that, that Kingdome w^{c}h shall live long w^{t}hout warr must needs bee in danger though it bee never so politiquelie gouverned, and especially if warr bee not p'vided for in peace.

That there is no way to releeve Rochell, but by Sea, and the Kingdome never soe well provided of shipping eyther for number, greatnes, or goodnes as at this present.

That since his Matie must needs break w^{t}h ffrance, he could never doe it at a better advantage, both that the Religion hath neede of it & that his Matie is humblie desired to assist them. And that the King of ffrance is using all the meanes he can to bee master of the narrow Seas, that wee in this time of peace have so much neglected. And he is a great King, & rich ; & if wee suffer him to goe on, he will bee Master, doe what wee can. ffor that Prince that will pay well will rob any other Prince of his best souldiers, both by Land & Sea. But if he bee looked to in time, there is nothing soe easie as to hinder the growth of his ffleete, as to sett upon him before he hath made up his strength at Sea. Soe that to effect this, his Matie could not more oportunelie begin a warr then now at this instant.

That it will be a great advantage to his Matie to bee the undertaker, for undertaking w^{t}h Councell & indgem^{t} doth play two parts, both offence and defence. And besides in going to find an Enemie, especiallie at Sea, that doth expect another, shall have the choise of wind, tyme, & tydes, & come fresher w^{t}h more terror & furye, then they that defend onelie, w^{c}h maketh it accompted, that those that doe but defend are but halfe armed, neyther can they bee in that good order as those that shall come upon them, nor so fresh, nor soe full of Courage, neyther are their shippes soe light and cleane.

That when our resolution shall bee knowne in ffrance that wee are resolved to entertaine a warr, assuredlie all ffrance will bee in Armes, and the Nobilitie on horsebacke, ffor the warr of ffrance is the harvest of the Nobilitie, w^{c}h maketh them bee followed w^{t}h soe great a teame, that there is noe gentleman, or man of qualitie that doth not know his Cheife, partie, & Rendezvous. And to that end there is never wanting some discontented Nobilitie or other to make a quarrell, And as they say there is many at this present, in regard they have a Priest Cardinall to Command them, and doe hould themselves the bravest Nation of the World.

And that w^{c}h encourageth them more to factions and devisions is, that that Prince that can bee ablest to make the greatest warr ag^{t} his King is best and first recompenced w^{t}h honour, w^{c}h in all other States is held rebellion. Soe that our quarrell will be welcome to the Papists and Protestants, and soe Commodious to us.

That if wee releeve Rochell wee shall have a great partie of the religion to encrease our Armie w^{t}hout any great Charge and to bee our guides & Intelligencers.

That wee may possesse our selves of many strong places besides Rochell, to bee able to draw the Countrie into Contribution to beare some of his Maties charge.

That if wee releeve that place, wee shall bee M^{rs} of a brave harbour, or roade, w^{c}h wee never had before, and so nigh the King of Spaines Coasts, especially the Coast and Bay of Biskey, where his best harbours are and his best Seamen, and hereby bee readier then ever to undertake any thing against him, and hinder the trafique of both kingdomes, and to retire our Shipps upon all occasions, and command the Sea more then ever.

That wee may hope when wee have engaged ffrance in a warr towards Rochell & those parts, that the King of Spaine, that looseth noe occasion to encrease his greatnes, let it bee right or wrong, will set the Duke of Savoy (that is now discontented w^{t}h ffrance and friends w^{t}h Spayne, and is an ambitious Prince) upon some part of ffrance, w^{c}h he once lost to the ffrench, or make his own Conquest of the Valtoline compleate, w^{c}h may serve us for a diverson ag^{t} his will. And if these bee advantages and Commodities, there are many more that I can not thinke off, or set downe.

The Discommodities, what they are.

That we ought not to flatter our selves by hiding our discommodities, for if wee doe, our Enemies and they will discover them to us to our preiudice. Therefore it is better alwayes, especiallie in great actions, to suspect the worst then to hide any, otherwise our expectance will bee to late, & prove to dear.

That wee must consider, that wee have beene too long in peace, and have spent our treasure in time of peace, that should have served us now in warr, and made warr to great a stranger to us. And to have prepared for a warr, before wee had entered into it had beene good, ffor as there is nothing wee can undertake but wee must provide for it, soe is there more need for a preparation for warr, then any thing in the world, for there is no action soe great as warr. It is as high a point as God hath given us leave to reach unto, for it comprehends all things, and therefore God stiles him selfe the God of Hostes.

That wee must consider that his Matie hath but little meanes at this present to make a warr w^th. And a warr would not onelie have a provision of money made, but a treasurie apart, that noe other occasion should diminish it, but warr. ffor it is a great hinderance to his Maties service, first to Councell and then to hunt for money to this place and that place; and in expeditions, time is as pretious as money, and sometime the saving of a kingdome, as the Proverbe saith: "give me time, give me life." And that Enemie that getteth the starte of another in time, will never take any harme, and will doe his busines much the cheaper, besides the hope of victorie.

Therefore to want money and to loose time too, is a double want, & will in time grow dangerous, and there is no such danger as confusion, w^ch commeth by want of money & time.

That his Matie is to make an accompt to make warr ag^t two kings, the one having begunne w^th his Matie, the other having provoked his Matie to beginn w^th him. There is a great discommoditie of it selfe, but much more when it is considered w^th the rest.

That the quarrell is some part of it, to bee made for religion, therefore those kings will have more to Contribute to their warr then his Matie shall have. And as they are the more in number, for are they richer, and more willinglie contribute, being ledd by their blind devotion, & for that the discepline of their Church hath more command of their partie then wee have of ours.

That this kingdome hath beene too long in peace, that our ould Commanders both by Sea & Land are worne out, and few men are bredd in their places, for that the knowledge of warr & almost the thought of warr is extinguished. The people have no affection to Contribute to warr, and find it soe strange to bee pressed, that they thinke it almost Tyranny; where in Queene Elizabeth's time they would receive it obedientlie, & many offer themselves. So that by experience it is seene that it is noe safetie for a State that hath many & great Enemies, to let a people live too long in peace.

That as our Mariners are out of practise, soe they are out of heart, having gotten little bootie & scant their wages. That our landmen are grown poore, and discouraged for want of their pay in warr, & meanes in peace so that the courage that was wont to bee in them, is changed, benummed & asleepe, or vanished I know not how.

That wee have neglected the advantage of helping Rochell too long, w^c^h by God hath beene alwaies offered to us as a tye upon that kingdome that never would have dared to have assalted the religion of that kingdome, till they found the humour of our late king, that he would not enter into a warr upon any Conditions, noe, not the warr of Germanie that did concerne him & his children soe much, and out of the exceeding love of peace resigned the two cautionary townes, ffushing & Brill, the one being the key of Zeland, the other of Holland, w^c^h hath caused us to bee shut out of the Councell of State; And these have beene the Commodities of our peace.

That wee have by neglect, I feare, made the design of releeving Rochell (that was easie if it had beene undertaken in time) hard & dangerous and costlie. And if wee take not the more care & use more diligence, it will bee ympossible. A greate deale of time hath beene spent since that releefe was resolved off, and I feare a greate deale more will passe before the fleete bee readie to set forth.

And as all warr is dangerous and doubtfull, soe nothing more dangerous then want of meanes & time neglected; Therefore, if these inconveniences bee not prevented, it is better to stand upon a defensive warr, then to endanger our selves, and by that meanes to discourage our friends, & doe them noe good, but rather harme.

That I feare that Rochell is alreadie blocked up both by land and Sea, and that the king of ffrance hath drawne downe his Armie before it, and that the mouth of the harbour is choaked up by boates that are sunke in the haven, w^c^h if it bee true there need noe more harme to bee done to that towne.

That if the king of Spaine doe resolve to ioyne w^t^h the king of ffrance his ffleete, to hinder any releefe to come to Rochell, he is not onelie powerfull at Sea, but a nigh neighbour of ffrance and Rochell by the Bay of Biskey, w^c^h is right ag^t^ it, where he hath store of good havens to have a fleete readie, and whence his best seamen are. And to instance the conveniencie of it, y^u^ may read in the life of Edward the 3^rd^ that an Earle of Pembroke, Admirall of fortie shipps, was here beaten and taken prisoner, and after ransommed. And, to increase their misfortunes, the more coming home sicke in a litter through ffrance dyed by the way.

That although there are here many strong places about Rochell, that are strong to the Landward and not to the Sea, w^{c}h wee may take, yet wee must not p'sume that that kingdome is soe ignorant, that when they shall discover a ffleet at Sea, but will have iudm^{t} to fill full all places that lyeth upon that Coast that they soe much suspect. And there is nothing that for the time defendeth a place as many hands that are well commanded. And they have more advantage to watch their Coast then wee have, ffor they have garrisons alwaies kept winter and summer w^{c}h we have not. And besides strong places are never gained but by the negligence and ignorance of him that commandeth, and the courage, secresie, and diligence of him that undertaketh, w^{c}h maketh all surprises soe rare. But the rule of warr is nothing ventor, nothing have; and the rule is, that nothing is to bee undertaken but the Commodities and discommodities must be first discovered, and then resolved, for there is nothing impossible in the world to Councill, iudjm^{t}, experience, courage, and industrie, and ever was and ever will bee.

The Lord Viscount Wimbleton's Method how the Coasts of this Kingdome may be defended against any Enemie, if in case the royal Navie should be otherwise employed or impeached, 1628.

Royal MSS. 18. *A* LXXVIII.

The following extract from above tract[1] is given in Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, II. pp. 308–11.

". . . . . That uppon the first fieringe the beacons there be a generall spoyle made of the countrie wheare hee entendeth to land, to the intent that the enemie make no use of it for his reliefe. For there is nothinge that an invading enemy will sooner want then victualles; and therefore it hath beene an antient pollicie in all nations, to performe this spoile, soe soone as they have offered to land. But pittie hath often overcome this necessary resolucion of many wise menn, who, lettinge it slippe without execution, have lost much by it, and repented it too late, as the late prince of Orange did before Breda, &c.

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[1] This tract commences by showing how the English coast may best be protected according to the military tactics of that period, and then goes on to recommend what should be done in case of the enemy effecting a landing.

"Likewise theare must be a care of providinge for the countries [counties] that shal bee further distant, for themselves, their wives, children and goods. For they wilbee in as much danger by our men as the enemy, and how cann everie poore man thincke to defend himself particularlie? Therefore, all poore menn and others that dwell farr from any markett towne, must repaire to churches and churchyards and theare putt theire goods and themselves, and helpe to fortifie the place, which may be donne suddenlie by their owne industrie. And whereas, they weare not able to defend themselves aparte, yett together they wil bee able to defend themselves from any partie, either of ours or the enemies—and this is not invention, but a course held in all countries where warr is.

"But the danger of all is, that a people not used to a warr, believeth that noe enemie dare venture uppon them, which may make them neglect it the more, for that theire ignorance doth blinde them, as they did in the Palatinate, when Spinola did prepare an army to invade them; which maketh mee remember to the same purpose, the speech of that brave and valiant gentleman generall Norris, that in 1588 said, that hee wondered hee could see noe man in the kingdome afeard, but himselfe. For theire is no difference, betweene those that are soldiers and those that are not, but that the one prepares aforehand, the other too late.

"Not to leave anythinge that may turne to the good of the Kingdome and your majestie's service, I will touch somethinge that in case an enemie shall land, wee should do, as well as to keepe him from landinge. If an enemie be suffered to lande, whether should hee bee offered battell or not? For my parte, my advice is, by no meanes; for these reasons. First; it is no pollicie to offer that which an enemie will seeke for, by all meanes: theare being no greater advantage for such an enemie then to fight a battell. Likewise, if hee come to conquer, hee is prepared for it, as his best game: therefore the sooner hee doth fight the lesse wilbe his necessitie, and the more his hope to make his conquest quicklie; which wilbe better for him than to staie longer, and hazarde his fortune sundrie times, by that meanes diminishinge his troopes and victuall, without any hope to reenforce or releive them All which (as I said before) will make for your majestie; for the oftener you come to fight in your defence, the more encouragement and assurance you shall have, and the more discouragement and despaire your enemies.

"When it shalbee indifference for your majestie to fight a battell, the true rules of the warr are, never to fight but uppon two occasions: the one beinge uppon a great advantage, the other, on a great necessitie. But if an enemie should land (as God forbid), hee must be enterteyned in this manner: theare must bee divers armies made, (as your majestie shall not want men, though you want soldiers) some of tenn thousand, nine thousand, seaven thousand, and six thousand, as they will fall out; and all to bee entrenched, soe soone as they approach the enemie. For by reason of fortification, that may bee suddenlie made, thear will be good time given to draw store of troopes together, without danger; and it is held as a maxime in the warrs, that hee is the best soldier that cann keepe his enemie from fightinge and bee able to fight when he pleaseth. Theise armies must be disposed in sundrie places, round about the enemie; theare beinge no such amasement to an enemie as to see themselves environned about; and it is most certeine, that a battle cannot fight everie waie. Wherefore, by this meanes hee shalbee charged in the reare, flanck and front, which will trouble the bravest enemie in the world. Besides, hee must be kept watchinge, with often skirmidges and alarmes, that hee may never bee in rest; and if hee will needs fight, lett him, for hee shall fight on all theise disadvantages, if those that command know how to command.

"It will not be amisse to have all directions and commands written; which if it bee necessarie in the best disciplined armies, wilbee more requisite in an armie consistinge of trained soldiers; for the errors of the warr may bee the losse of a kingdome. Therefore it will not bee fitt to have it excused with mistakinge. And so, I end my designe to shewe how your majesties kingdome may bee defended, if your majesties navie be wantinge, or otherwise employed."

THE FUNERAL CERTIFICATE OF VISCOUNT WIMBLEDON.[1]

The right ho^{ble} Edward Cecyll, Viscount Wymbledon and Baron of Putney, so created by King Charles in the first year of his raigne, departed this mortall life at his house at Wymbledon aforesaid on Friday the sixteenth day of November, 1638. He married three wives. The first was Theodotia, of the house of the Lord Nowell [Noel] by the mother of the howse of the Lord Harrington, who died at Utrecht in Holland, by whom he had issue fowre dauthers, Dorothy Cecyll, yet unmaried; Albinia, second daughter, maried to S^r^ Christopher Wray of Barlings Abbey in the County of Lincoln, Knt.; Elizabeth, third daughter, maried to the right ho^ble^ Francis Lord Willoughby, Baron of Parham; Francess, 4th daughter, maried to James Fynes, Esquire, sonne and heire apparent to the Lo. Viscount Say and Seale. His Lo^p's^ second wife was Diana Drury of Hawsteed, in the County of Suffolk, and by the mother descended from the antient familie of the Duke of Bucks and Stafford, and one of the Coheires of Sir Robert Drury of Hawsteed aforesaid, Kn^t^, by whome he had issue one daughter, named Anne Cecill, that died an infant. His Lo^p's^ 3rd wife was Sophia, daughter to S^r^ Edward Zouch of Woking, in the County of Surrey, Knight, by whome he had one sonne, named Algernoun, who died an infant. He followed the warres in the Netherlands thirty-five years, and passed the degrees of Captaine of Foote and Horse, Collonell of Foote and Collonell of the English horse; at the Battell of Newport in Flanders. He was Lo. Marshall, Lieutenant Generall and Generall against the King of Spaine, and Emperor, in the service of King James the first, and at his return was made Govern^r^ of State and Warre and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Surrey, and Captaine and Governour of Portsmouth.

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[1] From a copy in the Heralds' College.

This certificate was taken by W^m^ Ryley, Bluemantle, to be registered in the Office of Armes, the truth whereof is attested by the said S^r^ Christopher Wray.

CHRISTOF WRAY.

THE END.

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